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The Classical Review

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1918

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE ELECTRA OF EURIPIDES.

In the *Choephores* (140) Electra prays that she may be *σωφρονεστέρα πολὺ μητρὸς . . . χεῖρά τ' εὐσεβεστέρα*. The use made of this combination by Sophocles, who founds his tragedy on the notion that decency and piety to her father make it impossible for Electra to be modest-minded or pious to Clytemnestra, entitles us to assume that the *σωφροσύνη* and *εὐσέβεια* of Electra had become proverbial.¹ As for the former trait, we have an independent witness in Aristophanes, whose comparison of his comedy to Electra proceeds from the allusion to the proverbial lock of hair to the equally proverbial *ὡς δὲ σῶφρων ἐστὶ φύσει . . .* (*Nub.* 537). Of course the *εὐσέβεια* of Electra is, for orthodoxy, her piety to her father; her *σωφροσύνη* is connected with her name 'unwedded'; she is 'the chaste Electra.'

Now there are many allusions in the *Electra* of Euripides to the prayer of the *Choephores*. Compare *Cho.* 132-139 with *Eur. El.* 165, 1090, 110, 1008, 314, 1001, 594,² and you will see that the external circumstances of Electra's humiliation, as conceived by Euripides, are carefully modelled on the details cited by Aeschylus, and are presented in phraseology which is deliberately imitative. But what has happened to the most striking characteristics of his model? What about the prayer for piety and the modest mind?

The answer is somewhat startling. Euripides has transferred these proverbial characteristics of the romantic Electra to the working-farmer whose questionable privilege it is to become her nominal husband. Not only does Electra herself describe the man as *εὐσεβής* (253) and *σῶφρων* (261), but the first scene of the play is designed to bring out precisely these two aspects of his character. At line 50, having described the delicacy of his consideration for his unequal consort, the peasant owns that he may be thought foolish by some persons, but only, he thinks, by those who 'measure τὸ σῶφρον' by base standards, and are themselves lacking in modesty. And again, at line 78, he tells us that, with the advent of morning,³ he will drive his oxen to the fields and work, because 'no idler, who is always doing lip-service to the gods, could get together a livelihood, doing no work.' These two reflections are not simply the tags which some critics are never tired of abusing as impertinences of Euripides. They are the structural pillars of the prologue, and have an important relevance to the subsequent development of the drama. Quite deliberately Euripides, whose main purpose is to bring us down (or up) from romantic flummery to the stern facts of life (in order first that we may judge justly, and secondly that we may feel human sympathies) has introduced into the drama of royal passions and revenges a humble creature from real life whose notion of self-restraint is prac-

¹ See my paper on 'The Tragedy of Electra according to Sophocles,' *Class. Quart.* April, 1918, Vol. XII. p. 80.

² Nor do these passages exhaust the list of reminiscences. With *Cho.* 131 (read *ὡς ἀναφών* with W. Headlam) cf. *El.* 587. The phrase *δίκη νικηφόρων*, *Cho.* 148, inspires the remarkable scene, *Eur. El.* 859 ff.

³ This wholesome reference to the morning as the time for work is a subtle Euripidean modification of the old romantic theme, developed in very different fashion by Sophocles.

tical, but also noble, and whose piety consists not in talk about the gods, but in earning his bread honestly. Mr. Murray has rightly remarked that this peasant is the only person in our drama who is not somehow tainted with blood-madness. He stands for the simple humanity which Euripides preaches, and which, if we once understand it, makes romantic talk about the degradation of poor clothes, menial labour, and a cottage instead of a palace, dwindle into insignificance. At the outset Euripides challenges the romantic convention by showing us that the root of the matter is better understood by this peasant than by the great ones of the earth. He stands for the realities of life as it should be lived, realities which the other characters of the drama tragically fail to know. He has a wholesome conception of the value of riches, and also of their comparative unimportance. For him, enough is better than a great abundance. Yet it is well to have enough to share with friends, enough to meet the emergencies of sickness. All that (424-432) is not irrelevant moralising. It provides the decent human standard against which the tragic error of the 'nobly born' heroes and heroines stand out in sharp relief. It is precisely because men 'measure with base standards' such things as work and poverty, respectability and birth, that tragedies as grim as that of Electra occur every day.

These themes are as old as Solon, and much older. But by stating them in this way Euripides challenges the slovenly practice of ordinary convention. He is like a modern clergyman who should deem it his duty to commend the unmitigated practice of Christian morality, as expounded in the New Testament. And, like such a clergyman, he earns the reputation of prophanity. On each point on which the peasant is profoundly right Electra takes the conventional view, and Electra is tragically wrong. The sum of the conventions means, in her case, a poisoned soul. She seriously thinks that her marriage to the peasant is *θανάσιμος* (247). She does not know that real nobility is a matter of character, not birth. Observe this point,

and you will no longer think of lines 367-390 as undramatic. She seriously thinks that, by carrying the waterpot herself, she makes the wickedness of Aegisthus evident to the gods. True, she has the decency to conceal her thoughts from her excellent protector. But look at line 307, and consider what it implies about her state of mind. She dwells on externals, like her clothes, her humble lodging; she is humiliated at the thought that she must entertain strangers in such a place and with such modest fare. The peasant knows better than she the really valuable things of this world. She harps on good birth. It will lead to a disappointment when Orestes comes. And similarly, though with a more tragic significance, the thought of her thwarted womanhood, her enforced virginity, takes colour from her conventional sense of propriety. The study is very subtle, and repays analysis. In the main, she is the daughter of her mother, as Wilamowitz says, but not exactly frivolous—as conventional people go. Rather she is a person with great natural capabilities for sympathy and good sense, bullied and thwarted, never educated, blind to the real values.

One thing, however, she cherishes, and it is noble enough. It is the thought of Orestes, the son of a great king, surely himself as bold, as splendid, as his race. When the actual Orestes appears, it is no wonder that she is slow to recognise him. He is, in fact, cautious beyond measure, weak, indecisive—but also, if she only knew it, something better than a bold fine figure of a nobleman, a youth of gentle instincts. That is the key to the recognition scene. Although I think the spectator is intended to draw an inference about the superior technique of Euripides, I cordially agree with Mr. Murray that it is a mistake to treat this scene as primarily or exclusively a criticism of Aeschylus. Electra has imagined Orestes as a hero of melodrama. She finds him a very simple, ordinary human being. It is not through clumsiness, nor by an oversight, that Euripides makes his Electra say, 'If you think my brave brother was so afraid of Aegisthus that he came to the country secretly, you are saying what is unworthy of a

man of sense.' That is precisely what Orestes, the real human Orestes, had done. And the same sort of imagination has made Electra suppose that her brother's hair would be altogether unlike her own, his footprints large and manly.¹

Frankly, I believe that a spectator of the play would see, and would be expected to see, that Electra is disappointed in Orestes. And Orestes, if I am not mistaken, is also disappointed in Electra. He is charmed with the peasant (262), and more startled than edified by the savage assurance of his sister that she is ready and eager to do the killing of Clytaemnestra herself (282). When the brother and sister have been forced by the old servant to the mutual recognition, instead of the romantic ecstasy which, perhaps, the sentimental reader would desire, we get, I think, something more true to life, a sort of puzzled embarrassment. There is a note of apology in the reply of Orestes to her question (581):

EL. *ἐκείνος εἰ σύ*; OR. *σύμμαχος γέ σοι μόνος*.

After which, though the chorus provides the jubilation, Electra remains silent until, at line 648, she breaks into the planning of the two men with her characteristic proposal:

ἐγὼ φόνον γε μητρὸς ἐξαργύσομαι.

The heartlessness of the device which she actually adopts is characteristic. It is explained, though not excused, by the thwarting of Electra's sex.

The Electra of Sophocles is, as I have tried to show, suggested to the poet by the prayer of Electra in the *Choephoroe* that she may be more pious and more modest-minded than her mother. Her instincts are towards normal piety and modesty. Her situation makes her violate those instincts daily, and the tragic clash of circumstance and temperament culminates in the scene in which she actually triumphs in the murdering of her own mother—just retribution as it is, and, in the absence of

law-courts, according to the standards of heroic antiquity, a pious and a proper consummation. The early scenes of the play, by their insistence on the heroine's sense that loyalty to her father means the violation of her own instincts of 'piety and modesty,' prove that the consummation is tragic. The result is not by any means a tract in favour of Apollo, though it is also not a tract against his oracle. Simply, it is a study of human tragedy. Electra is like so many of us poor creatures to-day, forced, in order not to violate the sense of righteousness and duty to whatever gods there be, to violate instincts which normally we regard as the final criterion of right. Circumstance makes tragedy.

The tragedy of the Euripidean Electra is different. She is not indeed a monster, but she is a thwarted woman, which is often much the same thing. In her dealings with Clytaemnestra there are, until the tragedy is consummated, none of those signs of moral uneasiness which explain the character of the Sophoclean heroine. Simply, she hates her mother, and is anxious for revenge. Orestes feels the scruples. Cruelty and the thwarting of her womanhood have made Electra sour. She does not feel, like the Sophoclean heroine, a passionate and spiritual devotion even to the murdered father, whom she lives to avenge. The vengeance she wants is vengeance for her own spoilt life. The one person she loves is Orestes, and an imaginary Orestes, the strong man who will come to her aid. Whereas in Sophocles Electra becomes the devoted slave of Orestes, and forgets herself in him, as soon as he is recognised, in Euripides she takes the lead. She urges him on, when he would avoid the crime. Her tragedy is that she is thus warped and embittered; what distinguishes her, however, from a wicked woman of melodrama is precisely her love for Orestes. But that love she only discovers too late, when she has already been guilty of thrusting him over the precipice, forcing him to the crime which will ruin his life. Of course, this implies that Euripides treats the oracle of Apollo as indubitably criminal. But the purpose of his play is not to prove this doctrine. It is to exhibit the results of

¹ I confess this does not explain lines 539 ff., and here I am constrained to admit that, in my opinion, the poet elaborates the familiar themes too much. In line 546 read *ἢ τις δεσπότην σκοπούς λαβὼν* (cf. 66, 97, 798).

human cruelty, and to awaken human sympathies.

I venture to think that this reading of the character of Electra throws light on many details, which appear, at first sight, puzzling or irrelevant. We have already seen how important the rôle of the peasant-husband becomes, and how the general conception of the tragedy makes relevant the moralising speeches which he delivers or inspires. Let us now consider the choral odes, which have been described as 'Embolima,' and which look like mere decoration. That they are, as decorative embroidery, fairly relevant is not, I think, disputed. But, to appreciate their dramatic value, we must notice how they are, poetically and imaginatively, related to one another. 1 The terms of the invitation to the festival of Hera, with which the chorus first approaches Electra, have a poetical value in connexion with the assembly to which a herald summons the Mycenaean in the ode on the Golden Lamb (170 ff., 706 ff.). There is a poetical connexion, undefined but important, between Electra's cry to 'Night, the nurse of golden stars' (54, another reference to the traditional *motif* of 'morning after night'), the sun and dancing stars on the shield of Achilles, which are to turn Hector to flight (465 ff.), and the sun and stars which are turned from their natural courses by the impiety of Thyestes (726 ff.). All that lends value to Electra's cry at 866. And the importance of the stars in the drama is not unconnected with the rôle of the Dioskuri (see, for example, 991). 2 Thirdly, there is poetical value in the Nymphs (447) and Nereids (434) in connexion with the circumstances of Aegisthus' death (625). But why should the poet think fit to make his chorus sing irrelevant songs about the arms of Achilles? He is using art to conceal art. What looks like a celebration of Agamemnon and Achilles is, in effect, a suggestion of the traditional, romantic, heroic, view of Orestes. The chief emblem on the shield of Achilles is the figure of Perseus, accompanied by Hermes, carrying the Gorgon's head. Even so does Electra imagine her Orestes. The connexion of these two romantic monster-slayers is traditional.

In Aeschylus (*Cho.* 808-830) the chorus pray that Hermes may assist Orestes, and that Orestes may have the spirit of Perseus in him. That is why Perseus is worked into the devices of Achilles's weapons here, and the point becomes tragic at line 856. It is not the Gorgon's head that will turn Electra to stone, but the body of Aegisthus 'whom she hates.' And when he comes to slay his mother, Orestes cannot bear the sight of her face. He veils his eyes (1221). The tragic relevance of the chorus is, I submit, established. See also line 1174, with its reminiscence of 456, 469, and possibly 711. The full value of the symbolism depends on a great number of details, including, for example, the 'fire-breathing lioness' of line 472, recalled in lines 1162-4, and again, I think, tragically in line 1183.

As for the episode of the Golden Lamb, its relevance depends on the fact that it marks the beginning of the tragedy and sin, forming a dark prelude to the scene of exaltation in which Orestes is hailed as 'victorious,' crowned as rightful prince and conqueror, and then thrust over the precipice by Electra. That is its main value, and the denial of the ancient story that the course of nature was changed by mortal sin is meant to suggest the poet's denial that the actions of Electra and Orestes are mysteries, not to be judged by ordinary human standards, and not caused by normal human motives. The details also are dramatic. The Mycenaean festival (see above) leads up to the dances which welcome Orestes, and to the sinister greeting with which Clytaemnestra is hailed as 'a happy Queen.' In the light of all this, we shall perceive that there is tragic irony in the moralising of Electra when she indicts the dead Aegisthus. The short dialogue in which Orestes bids her speak freely, without fear of the *φθόνος* either of gods or men (900 ff.) tragically recalls the temptation of Agamemnon by Clytaemnestra in Aeschylus. Throughout this part of the drama, we should notice, the chorus is swept away into a rapture which bodes ill for the sequel.

Finally, when the critical moment comes, Orestes feels 'pity' for his mother, and would draw back from the

fatal act (967-8). He sees plainly at that moment that Apollo has spoken *ἀμαθίαν* (971). But Electra stifles his scruples by her question, 'If Apollo be evil-minded, who are the wise?' Look at lines 294-6, and you will admit that Euripides uses his moral reflection with an eye to dramatic effect. Orestes, in his own sound mind, knows

ἐνεσθιν οἶκτος ἀμαθία μὲν οὐδαμοῦ,
σοφοῖσι δ' ἀνδρῶν. . . .

In the final scene, which is externally conventional, the Dioskuri blame Apollo for lack of wisdom. And when Orestes, in a poignant cry, which recalls the most tragic moment of the *Choephoroe* (923), bids his sister (1325)

πρόσπυτον σῶμα· θανόντος δ'
ὥς ἐπὶ τύμβῳ καταθρήνησον,

the Dioskuri touch again the theme of pity for human trouble.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

THE PROBLEM OF THE *ANTIGONE*: WHAT DID SOPHOCLES WRITE?

WHEN Jebb in his famous edition decided against the genuineness of the suspected lines in the last speech of Antigone, he supported his decision by arguments which are still unanswered, and, with the present interpretation of the text, are likely to continue so. Yet there are several difficulties in his treatment of the problem. He cuts out line 904 to 920, a matter of nearly one-third of the whole speech, so that it runs:

. . . νῦν δὲ Πολυνείκης τὸ σὸν
δέμας περιστέλλοντα τοιάδ' ἄρνυμαι
ποῖαν παρεξέλθουσα δαιμόνων δίκην;

To account for such an interpolation he merely repeats the suggestion that Iophon, in a revision of his father's plays, inserted the suspected lines in the text. Why Iophon, or any other poetical editor, should be guilty of such a literary atrocity he does not say. Moreover, though in Jebb's version the lines run smoothly enough, the participle *παρεξέλθουσα* coming naturally after the indicative *ἄρνυμαι*, from an aesthetic view-point it is extremely forced. The great appeal against inexplicable fate contained in the single line *ποῖαν παρεξέλθουσα δαιμόνων δίκην*, comes as a splendid finish to the lines

καὶ νῦν ἄγει με διὰ χειρῶν οὕτω λαβὼν
ἄλεκτρον ἀνυμέναιον οὔτε τοῦ γάμου
μέρος λαχοῦσαν οὔτε παιδείον τροφῆς
ἀλλ' ὧδ' ἔρημος πρὸς φίλων ἡ δύσμορος
ζῶσ' εἰς θανόντων ἔρχομαι κατασκαφάς,

which express so vividly the sadness and horror of her early death, and almost make her believe that the gods have forsaken her, who thus reward her obedience to their divine laws.

Coming after the prosaic *τοιάδε* it would be much less effective, in fact almost bombastic.

The received interpretation of the passage left Jebb no alternative but to reject it entirely. Antigone seems to say, 'Never would I have taken up this task if it had been my husband or children that lay mouldering in death.' Such a startling statement needs justification, which is supplied by a 'primitive sophism' taken almost bodily out of Herodotus. But does Antigone really say this? Let us forget for a moment the received interpretation, and, taking the Greek as it stands, try if it is capable of some other more satisfactory interpretation. The first thing that strikes us is that Antigone never actually refers to the death of her children as a case in which she would not have deemed the divine law binding, in fact she never mentions it at all. Her words are: 'Never, if I had been the mother of children . . .'

This has been taken as a poetic way of saying 'if my children were dead'; but surely in a solemn statement of such great importance to the whole aspect of the play, and one which the poet admits to be in need of explanation, it would be absurd to increase the difficulty by involving it in a poetic disguise, which is certainly liable to another interpretation. Evidently there is something wrong somewhere, and where such perplexity arises it is extremely probable that the clear brain of Sophocles is not alone responsible for the text.

Jebb objects rightly to the line *τίνος*

νόμου δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν λέγω, as 'strongly suggestive of the interpolator who bespeaks attention for his coming point.' It certainly has not the spirit of Sophocles, so we may reasonably arrest it on suspicion, on Jebb's informations, till we secure its accomplices. We shall still follow Jebb in making a clear sweep of the four lines containing the 'primitive sophism'; but as the principal objection to the following three depends on the sense of the preceding eight, and as there is nothing in the technique to show that they are not Sophoclean, we must let them stand till we see how the others are to be treated.

Let us now suppose the remaining verses written in the Athenian script of the fifth century B.C., with no accentuation, punctuation, or division of words. What is more likely than that an editor or revisor reading over the *Antigone*, forty years after its first production, and coming to the words

οὐγαρ ποτ' οὐτ' ἀν' ἐκπρωτὶ μὴ τέκνων
οὐτε ποσὶς μοι κατθανών ἔστηκετο
βίαι πολιτῶν τανδ' ἀν' ἡρώων ἱερὸν

should have been misled by the *οὐτε* catching his eye at the beginning of the second line and taken *οὐταν* in the first to be the corresponding negative followed by the particle *ἀν*. To him, then, the text presents the strange problem of an extraordinary statement, qualifying the whole aspect of the play and absolutely unsupported by any stated reasons.

In accordance with the well-known rule of rhetoric, soon afterwards to be formulated by Aristotle, he proceeds to supply the deficiency, aided by the remembrance of a supposed parallel instance in Herodotus which the unusual word *ἐκπρωτιμήσασα* may have helped him to recall. This happy thought he expresses in four jogging senarii, and goes on his way rejoicing.

Now this very word *ἐκπρωτιμήσασα* does not give the required sense to the present form of the text. Antigone did not honour her brother beyond her husband or children, for the simple reason that such a comparison would be unmeaning. She was dying *ἄλεκτρος ἀνυμέναιος*, and knew it too well to for-

get it even in the depth of fraternal love. She might have said that she *would have* honoured her brother more than them, but the interpolator, content with a loose connexion of thought, preferred to keep the poet's actual words as far as possible, than to secure his own position by any further changes which might involve more tampering with the text than his conscience would allow, or his own limited powers could undertake.

Let us now consider the alternative interpretation. If we divide the first line so as to give

οὐ γάρ ποτ', οὐ τὰν, εἰ τέκνων μήτηρ ἔφυν,

the next line falls naturally into a parenthesis since *οὐτ' εἰ* must mean 'not if,' not 'nor if,' since there is now no corresponding 'neither.' Then the third line takes up the first and completes the conditional sentence, and thus we obtain an entirely new meaning with practically no change in the text. The passage will then run:

καίτοι σ' ἐγὼ τίμησα τοῖς φρονούσιν, εὖ,
οὐ γάρ ποτ', οὐ τὰν, εἰ τέκνων μήτηρ ἔφυν
—οὐτ' εἰ πῶς μοι κατθανὼν ἔστηκε—
βίᾳ πολιτῶν τίνδ' ἂν ἡρώων πόνον.
τοιῶδε μέντοι σ' ἐκπρωτιμήσας ἐγὼ
νόμῳ Κρέοντι ταῦτ' ἔδοξ' ἀμαρτάνειν
καὶ δεινὰ τολμᾶν, ὧ κασίγνητον Κῆρα.
καὶ νῦν ἄγει με κ.τ.λ.

'And yet I honoured thee in the eyes of those that are wise, well. For never, no never, had I been the mother of children—not if it were my husband that lay mouldering in death—would I have taken on myself this labour in defiance of the citizens. Yet though I held thee first in honour by such a law I seemed to Creon to be wrong and dare unlawfully, brother mine. And now he leads me to my death, etc.'

This is the *νόμος* which Antigone quotes as the authority for 'honouring her brother above all.' Not above husband or children, for they are not for her, but above the commands and threats of Creon, the persuasions of Ismene and the example of blind obedience given by public opinion as expressed by the chorus. The force of this law, the reason why she mentions it, and the light which it throws on the play, must next be considered.

Antigone is dying before she has got what is due to her out of life. The

perfection of the natural life being in the Greek ideal, the joy of marriage and offspring, she is scarcely to be considered as having lived at all. She is but as a child—a pure spirit clothed in a garment of flesh, touching this world for an instant and shrinking from the cold blasts of misfortune which have been her portion during her brief existence. Yet she does not want to lie down and sleep away in death the memory of her sorrows. She has found love, and her young heart is full of unspeakable longings after happiness, sweeter because only half-guessed. And now all this is torn from her by the most cruel stroke of all. On the edge of her living tomb she pauses and thinks of what might have been, of wedded love, and the sweet duty of παιδείας τροφή, the nurture of children.

'Ah then,' she says, 'I could have lived; even if it were my husband that lay unburied. I need not have faced the violence of men, for my duty to my children would have first claim. But now my dead brother holds the first place and I could not do otherwise. Yet Creon thinks me wrong, though he knows that I acted under this law and from no choice of mine, and now he leads me desolate to death. I do not

know; I cannot understand why the gods permit such things. But why disquiet myself in vain? I shall soon know all, and I trust to the justice of Heaven to justify me on earth by punishing my judges if they have done wrong.'

Thus the virgin-martyr goes to her doom, not lifted above the earth in an ecstasy of devotion and already enjoying a foretaste of Heaven, but with one long sad glance at the fair joys she can never share she faces an unknown world full of doubt and darkness, with her brave heart alone sustaining her in the firm belief that she has done her duty and that it will not be in vain.

Surely this new interpretation reveals a trait in the character of Antigone hitherto almost unsuspected—her deep tenderness and immense capacity for love. Nowhere else in the play do we get such striking proof of the words the poet puts into her mouth at the beginning of the action, thus giving a hint at the truest and most beautiful aspect of her character.

οὐ τοι συνέχθειν ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔστιν.

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THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

XI.

Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

IT is a small matter to read ἀνέρας εἰσορόων for ἄνδρας τ' εἰσορόων in 154, and it is perhaps not extravagant to regard 155 as the ambitious, albeit rather wooden, interpolation of a meddlesome rhapsodist; but it may be a shock to the thick-and-thin supporters of *hiatus licitus* to be told that

156 πρὸς δὲ τόδε μέγα θαῦμα, θοὺ κλέος οὐπὸς' ἀλείται

should be corrected by introducing τόο, the uncontracted form of τοῦ, instead of the barbaric diectasis θοῦ (=θο).

The couplet 159-60,

αἴτις δ' αὖ Λητώ τε καὶ Ἀρτεμὺν λοχέαιραν,
μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἥδ' ἡναικῶν

presents greater difficulty. Λητώ for Λητόα and the hiatus μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν

are a sufficient indication that something is amiss. A deliberate attempt has been made, unless I am mistaken, by a little omission and the transposition of seemingly unimportant words to exalt Apollo and to dissociate his praises from the laudation of his mother and sister, as if the singers sang two or even three separate hymns, one for each person. The present hymn itself shows that the assumption is improbable. So far Leto and her troubles have been dwelt upon in nearly a hundred lines out of 160, and in 165 we read

Ἰλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξόν.

Moreover, if we adopt the theory of a separate Delian Hymn ending at 178, Leto is the last word. I suggest then that the true reading of 158-61 may be approximately—

αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ' πρῶτον μὲν 'Απόλλων' ἀργυρότοξον
 Λητοῖα δ' ὑμνήσωσιν ἰδ' "Αρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,
 αὖτις δ' αὖτ' ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἥδ' ἑταίρων
 ὕμνον αἰδούσιν θέλγουσιν δὲ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων,

or *μνησάμεναι* δ' for *αὖτις* δ' αὖτ' in 160.

In this arrangement the *Hymn* to the god is one and indivisible a true *προοίμιον*, as Thucydides calls it, a prelude not to a recitation from Homer, as is commonly said, but a ceremonial opening of all the festival from beginning to end, the next item on the programme being apparently a selection from the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*, which Achilles is recorded as singing in I. 189. The *Hymn* is more than an overture to a musical entertainment. Like the Prelude to *Faust*, it imparts tone and colour to all that follows.

* * *

163 μμείσθ' ἴσασιν· φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος
 φθέγγεσθ'.

The MSS. read *μμεῖσθαι* without elision. The elision is due to Barnes, whom all editors have followed. The tradition is certainly right and Barnes as certainly in error.

ἐργον 'Ομηρείου τόδ' ἐπλετο Βαρνεσίου,

and like his celebrated *αὐτὰρ ἀποπτανέουσιν* (Ξ 101) only helps to obscure the true reading, which may by the substitution of *φαίτο* for *φαίη* still be recovered, v. 151. My suggestion is

μμεῖσθαι ἴσασ'· αὐτὸς δέ κε φαίτο ἕκαστος.

'They know how to imitate the voices and the clacking of all men: each one would think his very self was speaking.'

'Clacking' is a word current in Lancashire meaning 'chatter,' 'gabble,' 'jabbering,' in French *caquetage*, and corresponds exactly to *κρεμβαλιαστύν* here, cf. Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*, 'I'm called their agreeable Rattle,' nor is the meaning much different if we read the variant *βαμβαλιαστύν*.

* * *

169 ὦ κούραι, τίς δ' ὕμνιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιος δοιδῶν
 ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέφ' τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;
 ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πάσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμους.

Perhaps *τῷ καὶ τέρπεσθε* with *τῷ* as the relative and *καὶ* laying stress on *τέρπεσθε* is right, 'Who, as ye think, is the sweetest singer in whom ye most delight?' *Τέφ* = *τίνι* (*Hymn Dem.* 404) is unique for the early epic, and the

indefinite *τεφ* is suspect, v. *Homeric*, p 364.

The *crux*, however, of this passage is 171. The reading given is that of Allen and Sikes, 1904, but in the Oxford text, 1913, Mr. Allen has adopted very unwisely an exquisitely bad conjecture of F. Marx, *Rh. Mus.* 1907,

ὑποκρίνασθ' ἀμφ' ἡμέων,

'make answer about me.' Not only is the metre made poor and the poetry marred by this unhappy change, but the whole effect of the next line, the little pleasantry of revealing himself while using the third and not the first person, *οἰκεῖ*, is obliterated by this premature and unseasonable *ἀμφ' ἡμέων*.

The better MSS. of Thucydides (iii. 104) give *ἀφήμους*, the later *εὐφήμους* obviously to save the metre. The MSS. of the *Hymns* present a more degenerate *ἀφ' ἡμέων* and still worse *ἀφ' ὑμέων*. All seem to read *ὑποκρίνασθε* save M *ὑποκρίνεσθ'*, which as far as the elision goes is right enough, as in *Hymn Dem.* 332 q.v.

My suggestion involves little change, *ὑποκρίνασθ' ἰαφήμους*, 'answer him with one voice,' 'with one prophetic voice,' for this is the sense of *φήμη*. The adverb would be a compound of *ἰα* 'one' (N 354 ἡδ' ἰα πάτηρ) and *φήμη*. If the form be accepted under warrant of *ἀφήμους*, it affords a complete solution of the variations of the tradition, and also justifies Barnes's very sensible *ἀριστεύουσιν* (173) wrongly excluded by Allen and Sikes. Otherwise we should have to fall back upon *ὁμοφώνως*, a recognised but poetically much weaker alternative form, which deviates very seriously from the tradition.

* * *

177 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω ἐκηβόλον 'Απόλλωνα
 ἱμνέων ἀργυρότοξον, ὃν ἥκομος τέκε Λητώ.

The metrical flaw, non-existent in the later language, is the result of a transposition, accompanied by the least possible modification of one epithet. Let us restore

*αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω 'Απόλλων' ἀργυρότοξον
 ἱμνέων ἐκάεργον*

and compare this passage with *Hymn VI.* 18-9 discussed in the June number of the *Classical Review*, 1916. Here the primary motive for the change would

be to remove the obsolete form *ὑμνείων*, cf. 190, corrected without remark v. 81 (No. X.).

* * *

181 αὐτός δ' αὖ Δῆλοιο περικλύστοιο ἀνάσσεις.

The strong case for *περικλύστοιο* as against *περικλύστης* or *περικλύστου μέγ'* was fairly stated in *Class. Rev.*, November, 1896. For αὐτός no satisfactory defence has yet been offered. I venture to suggest αὐτῆς. Insistence on the importance of Delos as compared with other localities is natural enough. The greatness of Apollo may be taken for granted throughout. Perhaps 179 should begin and did begin ὦ ἄν', ὃ καὶ Λυκίην, leaving 181 to stand alone as principal sentence. The loss of the relative in this form has occurred I think in several cases, e.g. A 37,

κλῦθί μεν, Ἀργυρότοξος, ὃ Χρῦσσην ἀμφιβέβηκας. . . .
Hymn Dem. 347,

κνανοχαῖρ' Αἰδης, ὃ καταφθιμένοισι ἀνάσσεις,

and similarly in this *Hymn*, 199, we should read

* * *

Ἀρτεμις Ιοχέαιρ', ἡ ὁμότροφος Ἀπολλωνι,

and let *hiatus licitus* go by the board once more.

* * *

201 παῖζουσ'· αὐτὰρ ὃ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἐγκιθαρίζει. . . .

Certainly ὃ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων is inadmissible. Either ὃ should be excluded, or, as I should think, more probably the intruder in Φοῖβος which has displaced τῆσιν, not tolerated because it occurs in the preceding line, but really shown to be necessary by ἐγκιθαρίζει, a compound which in *Hymn Herm.* 17 is quite out of place, and μεσσημάτιος κιθάριζεν (Schneidewin) a necessity.

* * *

208 ἥέ σ' ἐνὶ μνηστῆσιν αἰεῖω καὶ φιλότῃτι
ὄππῃς μνωμένος ἔκies Ἀξαντίδα κούρην . . . ;

Surely not, as Allen and Sikes say, 'in thy love of brides,' whatever reading we adopt. No hymn-writer could have been so audaciously irreverent. The poet probably wrote

ἥέ σ' ἐν ἀδμήτῃσιν αἰεῖω καὶ φιλότῃτι,

'amid loving maidens.' A delicate compliment to Apollo as what we call a lady-killer. See Milman's *Newdigate*, 1812, on the Belvedere Apollo.

In the next line for ἔκies we may

without hesitation read *κῖες εἰς*, cf. ξ 127 ἐλθὼν ἐς δέσποιναν ἐμὴν ἀπατήλια βάζει.

The corrupt lines which follow I would write tentatively thus, in the hope that such suggestions as are here made may be of service and lead to better developments in the future:

* * *

Ἰσχυ' ἄμ' ἀντιθέω Ἐλατιονίδῃ εὐπίπῳ,
ἢ Φόρβανθ' ἄμα Τριοπίδῃ γένος εἰς Ἀμάρυνθον.
ἢ σύ γ' ἄμ' Ἀρσίππῳ ἐς Λευκίππιο θύγατρα
πέδος ἑὼν, ἵπποισι σὺ δ' οὐκ Ἴδα' ἐνέλειπες,
ἢ ὡς δὴ πρῶτον χρηστῆριον ἀνθρώποισι
ζητεύων κατὰ γαίαν ἔβης, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἀπολλων ;

So written the question begins with ἦε (208), surely not ἥέ, and continues to the end of 215. In 211 neither Ἐρευνθεῖ nor Ἐρεχθεῖ is metrically allowable: εἰς Ἀμαρύνθου 'to the house of A.' (Ἀμαρύνθῳ marg. L¹ Π) is possible, but very uncertain. L. 214 might begin (cf. 209) ἢ ὄππῃς πρῶτον.

In 223 ἀπέκ τοῦ (cf. 110) is probable for ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

* * *

231 ἐνθα νεοδμῆς πῶλος ἀναπνέει ἀχθόμενος περ. . . .

Allen and Sikes explain ἀναπνέει 'gains new life' through the inspiration of the horse-god. A recurrent miracle here seems to me a needless assumption. The verb ordinarily means 'recovers breath,' 'has a breathing-space' (ἀνάπνευσis). The colt is out of breath, 'blown' as they say technically, with pulling the car, and gets relief because the wise driver jumps out of the car and walks, χαμαὶ δ' ἐλατῆρ . . . ὁδὸν ἔρχεται.

This is the *rationale*, the sensible basis, of the custom, but there was added for its enforcement in very early times a religious sanction involving a definite penalty for its breach. The whole passage has caused much discussion, and stands thus:

ἐνθα νεοδμῆς πῶλος ἀναπνέει ἀχθόμενος περ
ἐκων ἄρματα καλά, χαμαὶ δ' ἐλατῆρ ἀγαθὸς περ
ἐκ δίφροιο θορῶν ὁδὸν ἔρχεται· οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν
κεῖν' ὄχεα κροτέουσι ἀνακτορίην ἀφιέντες.
εἰ δὲ κεν ἄρματ' ἄγῃσιν ἐν ἀλσεὶ δεινδρήνῃτι
ἵππους μὲν κομέουσι, τὰ δὲ κλίναντες ἐῷσιν·
ὥς γὰρ τε πρῶτισθ' ὅσην γένεθ'· οἱ δὲ ἀνακτὶ
εὐχονταί, διφρὸν δὲ θεοῦ τότε μοῖρα φυλάσσει.

Here οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν must be a modernisation, and probably of οἱ δὲ οἱ ἵπποι, cf. O 452, Ψ 474. In 235 ἄγῃσιν is the reading of the MSS. There is no need to suppose that the empty car could not rattle without being broken

as most editors by adopting Cobet's ἀγῆσιν seem to imagine. In 236 I would read ἀγκλίναντες, cf. Δ 113, σ 103, and most certainly in the next line γάρ τε as above for γάρ τὰ (πρώτιστα), possibly also εἰ δέ for οἱ δέ. The translation is to this effect:

'There a new-broken colt, distressed with pulling the smart chariot, has a breathing-time, for the driver, a sensible man, springs from the car and wends his way afoot. His horses losing his guidance rattle along the empty carriage. But if one drive a chariot within the woodland grove, his men lead off just (μέν) the horses, the chariot they tilt and abandon. For this was the taboo in earliest time; but for those who pray to the lord of the grove, then the god's dispensation ensures the chariot.'

The meaning seems to be that any vehicle passing the temple must slow down, and, in fact, is not to be driven at all. Before entering the sacred grove the driver must descend, and proceed on foot until he quits it. If, on the other hand, he should persist in driving his team anywhere within the limits of the grove, he and his fellows take home the horses, but are obliged to leave the vehicle behind as a punishment for the offence they have committed. There is just one possibility of escaping the penalty. Petition or prayer may be made to Poseidon, and following that the god's award may prevent the forfeiture of the car.

* * *

246 στῆς δὲ μάλ' ἄγχι αὐτῆς. . . (=378).

In these two lines the true reading is very probably τῆς δὲ μάλ' ἄγχι στῆς (στῆ). Cf. δ 370 ἢ δέ μεν ἄγχι στάσα.

* * *

252 χρησόμενοι· τοῖσιν δὲ τ' ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλὴν
πάσι θεμιστεύοιμι (=292-3).

Read θεμιστεύοιμι with Ilgen's κ' for τ'. A speech that opens with the dominant and decided ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω could not end in the if-you-please attitude of θεμιστεύοιμι, and would probably be all the better for the omission of 250-1 (=290-1), in which (1) Πελο-

πόννησον, (2) Εὐρώπην, and (3) κατὰ are more or less questionable.

* * *

263 ἀρδόμεναί τ' οὐρῆς ἐμῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ πηγέων·

This line and Φ 312 ὕδατος ἐκ πηγέων throw great doubt upon the value of the observation that in Homer and in the early epic the noun πηγὴ was only used in the plural, never in the singular number. If this restriction had existed for the early poets the two lines quoted could not have been composed at all, for they would necessarily have said and sung πηγάων. Obviously the authors of our line and of Φ 312 wrote ἐμῆς ἱερῆς ἀπὸ πηγῆς and ἐκ πηγῆς respectively. The metre and language prove this conclusively, in spite of traditional appearances and the most unenlightened numerical observation.

Are we to consider Aeschylus a daring experimentalist when he wrote πηγῇ πυρός (Prom. 110) and πηγῇ κακῶν (Pers. 743), and that Sophocles, Plato, Xenophon, and others followed his lead? Or is there some natural plurality about springs and wells? Unless these questions can be answered affirmatively with some show of reason, we may accept quite confidently πηγῆς as the true and original reading.

* * *

275 ὡς εἶποῖς' Ἑκάτου πέπιθε φρένας, ὅφρα οἱ αὐτῇ
Τελφοῦση κλέος εἴη ἐπὶ χθονί, μῆδ' Ἑκάτοιο.

Probably no one at the present day would hesitate to accept the slight reconstruction ὡς εἶποῖς' ἐπιθεῖν Ἑκάτου φρένας [cf. 1, 45, 56, 157, 229 (ter), 474 of this *Hymn*, and my remarks on 177], save for the peculiar ending of the next line μῆδ' Ἑκάτοιο, for which the remedy is not so obvious, though perhaps not unattainable.

Leaving graphical considerations out of account for the moment μῆδέ τευ ἄλλου would be a tolerable substitution for the tradition, but as it seems possible to get an acceptable reading without changing more than two letters of the vulgate, I prefer to suggest μῆδ' ἄρα τοῖο or μῆδ' ἔτι.

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NOTES ON SOME TEXTS IN PLATO AND MARCUS AURELIUS.

Euthyd. 303D εὐ γὰρ οἶδα ὅτι τούτους τοὺς λόγους πάνν μὲν ἂν ὀλίγοι ἀγαπῶεν ἄνθρωποι ὅμοιοι ὑμῖν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οὕτω νοοῦσιν, ὥστ' εὐ οἶδα ὅτι αἰσχυρθεῖεν ἂν μᾶλλον ἐξελέγχοντες τοιούτοις λόγοις τοὺς ἄλλους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐξελεγχόμενοι.

The questionable word here is νοοῦσιν, the MSS. wavering between νοοῦσιν (B) and ἀγνοοῦσιν (T). Gifford defends νοοῦσιν, which he renders 'have such a notion of them,' 'so conceive of them,' citing *Rep.* 508D (τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς νόει) and *Phaedr.* 246C (οὔτε ἰδόντες οὔτε νοήσαντες θεόν); but these instances are not really similar and do nothing to support his case. Among what Gifford calls the 'needless conjectures' already proposed are Stallbaum's ἀτιμάζουσιν and Orelli's ἀπωθοῦσιν; and more recently Mr. H. Richards, holding that 'neither νοοῦσιν nor ἀγνοοῦσιν makes any sense,' has suggested δυσχεραίνουσιν as a suitable word. None of these corrections, however, is close enough to the traditional lections to be very plausible. In attempting an emendation we may, I think, assume that ἀγνοοῦσιν is a mere correction of the difficult νοοῦσιν, so that the letters α γ may be neglected. We have to deal, then, only with νοοῦσιν, or let us rather say with the series of letters formed by the two words οὕτω νοοῦσιν. A frequent cause of error is haplography or lipography: assume its action here, plus the common confusion of τ and π, and there emerges οὕτω<ς ὑπο>νοοῦσιν. This word is milder in sense than the words proposed by Richards and the rest, but it seems quite sufficiently strong. True it is not a common Platonic word, but its use here may be supported by *Laws* 3. 679 c where we have ψεῦδος ὑπονοεῖν in contrast to τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ νομίζειν: in both cases the object of suspicion is a statement or argument.

Epist. 8. 354A δ δέ μοι φαίνεται πῃ τὰ νῦν, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι πάσῃ παρρησίᾳ καὶ κοινῷ τινι δικαίῳ λόγῳ χρώμενος δηλοῦν. λέγω γὰρ δὴ διαιτητοῦ τινα τρόπων διαλεγόμενος ὥς δυοῖν, τυραννεύ-

σαντι τὲ καὶ τυραννευθέντι, ὥς ἐνὶ ἑκατέρῳ παλαιὰν ἐμὴν συμβουλὴν.

On this Richards comments, 'Should not τινα be τινος and δικαίῳ probably δικαίως?' Certainly the first sentence is curious: why is it not κοινῷ καὶ δικαίῳ λόγῳ, or rather why κοινῷ at all, since it is his οὐκ superior counsel, ἰδιὸν τι, that the writer is proposing rather pompously to produce? Here again I suspect a corruption due to the same fertile cause, haplography, and in place of κοινῷ I would write κοινῶν. The sense then will be—'taking δίκαιος λόγος to be my assessor (or fellow-counsellor), so to speak'; for which use of κοινῶν one may compare *Laws* 810 c πρὸς δὲ δὴ κοινῶν ὡς ὄντας περὶ νόμων ἀνάγκη . . . φράζειν. Moreover, the case for κοινῶν in an official or semi-legal sense is supported by the occurrence of διαιτητοῦ, συμβουλὴν and σύμβουλος in the clauses immediately following. In the sentence λέγω γὰρ δὴ κτλ. I cannot quite make out how the ordinary text ought to be rendered: the double ὥς seems to me very awkward. It looks as if one ought to read something like this: λέγω γὰρ δὴ, διαιτητοῦ τινος τρόπον διαλεγόμενος καὶ δυοῖν, τυρ. τε καὶ τυρ., (ὥς ἐνὶ ἑκατέρῳ πάλαι) τὴν ἐμὴν συμβουλὴν. But possibly it may suffice to leave the words as they stand with the single minor alteration of ὥς for the second ὥς (as . . . so).

Εἰρ. 8. 354D οἱ καὶ τοὺς δέκα στρατηγούς κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες . . . κατὰ νόμον οὐδένα κρίναντες, ἵνα δὴ δουλεύοιεν μηδενὶ μήτε σὺν δίκῃ μήτε νόμῳ δεσπότη, ἐλευθεροὶ δ' εἴεν πάντῃ πάντως.

Richards' note on this runs thus: 'The sense of μήτε σὺν δίκῃ μήτε νόμῳ δεσπότη is very unsatisfactory, until we read μήτε <ἀνθρώπῳ> σὺν δίκῃ, comparing 334C μὴ δουλοῦσθαι Σικελίαν ὑπ' ἀνθρώποις δεσπόταις . . . ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ νόμοις, and even then σὺν δίκῃ seems out of place.' Certainly σὺν δίκῃ is objectionable, both from its position and because the preposition is unidiomatic. δίκη, like νόμος, ought, one thinks, to agree with the other datives,

instead of being adverbial. The first thing to be done is to cancel σύν: this done, δίκη and νόμῳ in agreement with δεσπότη are natural enough; we need only assume a kind of semi-personification. But the question remains—how did the otiose σύν manage to intrude itself? One might think of the compared word συνδίκῳ, but it would be clumsy to speak of a σύνδικος as a possible δεσπότης. The simplest correction is to read οὖν for σύν. For the combination μήτ' οὖν in one of two negative alternatives, see Madv. *Gr. Synt.*, § 266 and cp. *Od.* 6. 192 οὐτ' οὖν ἐσθλὸς δεινέσσαι οὔτε τευ ἄλλου.

Eryx. 401A ἡ ἐστὶν ὅτι χρώμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τῷ βλάπτειν καὶ ἑτέροις πολλοῖς; ἀρα ἡμῖν ταῦτ' ἀν εἶη χρήματα; καὶ μὴν χρησιμὰ γε φαίνεται ὄντα. It seems scarcely possible to keep βλάπτειν as an example of χρήσιμα, and on the same footing with the innocuous business of 'conversation'. Proposed corrections are 'γράφειν vel βλέπειν Clericus, παλαίειν vel πλάττειν Horreus, θάπτειν Orelli.' <ᾱ>θλ<α> ᾱπτειν (cp. πάλην ᾱπτειν) would be near in point of letters; but I should prefer βουλεύειν, although its corruption is less easy to explain.

Clitoph. 409E τὴν δὲ ὁμόνοιαν ἐρωτώμενος εἰ ὁδοδοξίαν εἶναι λέγοι ἢ ἐπιστήμην, τὴν μὲν ὁδοδοξίαν ἡτίμαζεν . . . τὴν δὲ φιλίαν ἀγαθὸν ὁμολογῇ πάντως εἶναι καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἔργον, ὥστε ταῦτὸν ἐφῆσεν εἶναι ὁμόνοιαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην οὐσαν, ἀλλ' οὐ δόξαν.

This is the MS. reading of the last clause (ὥστε κτλ.), but obviously there is something amiss. Burnet follows Bekker and the Zurich editors in cancelling the καὶ before ἐπιστήμην, whereas Hermann adds a word (δικαιοσύνην) between καὶ and ἐπιστήμην. The latter is a heroic remedy, while as to the former one does not easily see why καὶ should have been inserted. With Bekker's reading, ὁμόνοιαν is, I presume, to be taken as the subject with ταῦτὸν as predicate, but it is equally easy to regard τὴν φιλίαν as the subject of both clauses, in which case we must turn ὁμόνοιαν into a dative after ταῦτὸν, and suppose that καὶ is, as often, a corruption of ὥς.

M. Aurel. iii. 12. ἐὰν τοῦτο συνάπτῃς . . . τῇ ὃν λέγεις καὶ φθέγγῃ ἥρωικῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀρκοῦμενος, εὐζωήσεις.

ἥρωικῇ has been the object of much suspicion. Rendall would read εὐροϊκῇ, but Marcus does not use this form (only εὐρους), and in any case the word applies better to an idea like βίος than to ἀληθεία. Richards' Ῥωμαϊκῇ is ingenious but hardly more. I should agree with the Loeb translator, Mr. Haines, in keeping ἥρωικῇ ἀληθείᾳ in the sense of 'old-world truth.' It may be difficult to produce a precise Greek parallel, but the Ciceronian use of *heroicus* in such phrases as *heroica tempora*, *heroicae aetates* (e.g. 'vetus opinio est, iam usque ab *heroicis* ducta temporibus,' *Div. I. I. 1*) sufficiently demonstrates that *heroicus* was practically a synonym for *antiquus*; and once this is granted, the rest of our defence is easy, since *antiquitas* to the 'antic' Roman mind connoted the ideal of probity and honour; cp. Ter. *Adelphi* 3. 3. 88 homo *antiqua* virtute et fide (and other passages quoted by L. and S. s.v. II. c).

iii. 16. 2. τῶν θεῶν μὴ νομιζόντων . . . καὶ τῶν ποιούντων, ἐπειδὴν κλείσωσι τὰς θύρας. Something with the sense of *αἰσχρά* evidently needs to be supplied before ποιούντων. Mr. Haines adopts Coraes' insertion of <πᾶν>, while Schenkl prefers τί οὐ. Either of these does well enough, but why should we not assume a still closer case of haplography and write τῶν <ποῖ' οὐ> ποιούντων: 'they stopped at no sort of iniquity'? Of 'ποῖος οὐ interrogative equivalent to ἕκαστος affirmative' various examples will be found in L. and S.

iv. 27. ἦτοι κόσμος διατεταγμένος ἢ κυκεῶν συμπεφορημένος μὲν, ἀλλὰ κόσμος.

Haines marks the words συμπ. . . κόσμος with notes of doubt, but allows himself (much like Long) to put this nonsense in his translation—'Either there is a well-arranged order of things or a medley that is confused, yet still an order.' Rendall makes better sense with his—'Either an ordered universe or else a welter of confusion. Assuredly then a world-order'; but to get this he

has to alter the punctuation and trans-
pose μέν, ἀλλά into ἀλλὰ μὴν: and be-
sides this he needlessly changes συμπ.
to συμπεφυρμένος, for the former word
is, as Haines points out, sufficiently
defended by Platonic usage. Reiske
contented himself with one small
change κόσμῳ for κόσμος, but this of
itself does but little to ease matters.
Schenkl's ἀλλ' οὐ κόσμος is, if possible,
worse: to say solemnly that a *κυκεών*,
'a jumble,' is not a κόσμος, is too
absurd even for a Stoic. Better than
these is Lofft's συμπεφυρμένος· οὐ μὴν,
ἀλλὰ κόσμος. I had once thought we
might read simply ἀλλ' ἀκόσμως: but
there is no true antithesis between
συμπεφ. and ἀκόσμως. Moreover the
run of the next sentence seems to show
that our sentence ought to convey a
decision in favour of the κόσμος alterna-
tive—as Rendall and Lofft saw. I
now propose, by applying again our
master-key of haplography, to read
ἢ *κυκεών* συμπεφορημένος<. συμπεφο-
ρημένος> μὴν, ἀλλὰ κόσμῳ (or, possibly,
κοσμίως). This explains the corrup-
tion, and it makes quite good sense—
for it is not the συμφορεῖσθαι that
Marcus wants to deny but the ἀταξία
or *κυκσᾶσθαι*: he admits that this world
is an assemblage of things, but not that
it is a *κυκεών*.

V. 1². πρὸς τὸ ἡδεσθαι οὖν γέγονας,
ὅλως δὲ σὺ πρὸς πείσιν ἢ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν;

Schenkl follows Schmidt and Four-
nier in giving σὺ for the οὐ of the
MSS. Also, the MSS. vary between
πείσιν (A D) and ποιεῖν (T); for which
Coraes proposed <τὸ> ποιεῖν, and
Wilamowitz ποίησιν. Further, for
ὅλως δὲ Wilamowitz has proposed
ὃ λῶστε, and Schenkl ὅλως γε: and
Upton suggested οὐ for ἢ. As all the
talk in the context is of the duty of
action as opposed to hedonistic inaction
—my duty to do ποιεῖν ὃν ἐνεκεν γέγονα
—I take it that any mention of πείσις is
out of place. But if τὸ ποιεῖν or ποίησιν
is right, it seems strange to add ἢ
πρὸς ἐνέργειαν, which is hardly a real
alternative; and in fact we need no
alternative, as our talk is of only one
thing. Now if we assume, for once,
that T's reading is better—nearer the
archetype—than A's, and if we allow

once again for haplography, then from
πρὸς ποιεῖν ἢ we can without difficulty
educe the words πρὸς <τί> ποτ' εἰ μὴ:
to what end wast thou born save that
of activity.' ἐνέργεια is not an alterna-
tive but a substitute for τὸ ποιεῖν.

vi. 10 τί δὲ μοι καὶ μέλει ἄλλον τινὸς ἢ
τοῦ ὅπως ποτὲ αἶα γίνεσθαι; Haines
prints αἶα γίνεσθαι with quotation marks,
with a reference to Hom. *Il.* vii. 99 in
the footnote; but if Marcus really had
Homer in mind, why did he not write
ὑδωρ καὶ γαῖα γίνεσθαι? Richards sug-
gests τέφρα for αἶα, but a likelier word
here is σποδιά, supposing the first three
letters to have been lost through lipo-
graphic error. Perhaps we should write
ὅπως πο<τε δεῖ σπο>διὰ γίνεσθαι.

ix. 28 ἢ ἀπαξ ὥρμησεν (sc. ἢ τοῦ
ὅλου διάνοια) τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κατ' ἐπακο-
λούθησιν †καὶ τί ἐν τίνι† τρόπον γάρ
τινα ἄτομοι ἢ ἀμερῇ.

Schenkl marks καὶ τί ἐν τίνι as cor-
rupt, and in his note approves the
correction of Coraes καὶ τί ἐντείνῃ;
which is supported by x. 31 (as Mr.
Haines observes). Mr. Haines obelises
the same words and also ἢ ἀμερῇ, with
the note 'Possibly ἀμερῇ is a gloss, or
ὁμοιομερῇ should be read.' ὁμοιομερῇ
is an old conjecture of Schultz; others
are μέρη Reiske, ἀμερές Couat, ἢ εἰμαρ-
μένη Rendall. Schenkl supposes that
'verba haud pauca excidisse.' Now it
seems idle to suppose with Haines that
ἢ ἀμερῇ is a gloss, for what is there
here to gloss? And none of the other
conjectures are at all plausible, at
least if we accept Coraes' correction.
For the exhortation, 'Why do you
strive?' ought to be followed, not by a
general statement about the world at
large, but by a personal argument
which touches the 'you' that is thus
exhorted. Such a point there would
be if the sentence ran—'Why do you
strive, for you are just a particle in the
stream of matter, you must ἐπακο-
λουθεῖν like the rest, the atoms that
flow unresistingly.' To secure some
such pertinent sense I would read—
τρόπον γάρ τινα ἄτομοι εἰ ἀμελεῖς (or
ἄτομα . . . ἀμελῇ, but Marcus seems to
prefer the other form).

R. G. BURY.

NOTE ON THE SYMPOSIACS AND SOME OTHER DIALOGUES OF PLUTARCH.

IN two of the more elaborate dialogues of Plutarch, the *De Defectu Oraculorum* and the *De Facie quae in orbe Lunae apparet*, the principal speaker, who controls the discussion, and himself maintains the Academic position, is 'Lamprias'; Plutarch is not introduced by name. As this speaker uses the first person of himself, and is addressed by others as 'Lamprias,' the compiler of the lists of speakers (apparently Wyttenbach) has rightly placed that name upon them, and it is taken to refer to Plutarch's brother of that name. Mr. John Oakesmith remarks as to the *De Defectu* that 'Lamprias here is clearly a thin disguise of Plutarch himself.' (*The Religion of Plutarch*, p. 76. See also p. 149.) I do not wish to question this opinion, but to emphasise it, and to suggest that the brother is not present at all, having perhaps, as seemed probable to Archbishop Trench, died early, and that the name is here used of Plutarch himself. I shall refer to the other works, and especially to the *Symposiac Dialogues*, for light thrown upon the personality of the brothers.

The *Symposiacs* are arranged in nine books, which fill the greater part of a Teubner volume, all dedicated to Sossius Senecio, Consul in A.D. 99, and in some later years. Each book was intended to contain ten dialogues, but the last in fact contained fifteen, mostly on literary subjects which were discussed in Athens, during the year of office of the philosopher Ammonius in that city. But four out of Book IV. and five out of Book IX. are lost to us, being only represented by their headings, and by one short fragment the right placing of which we owe to M. Bernardakis.

A few points may be noted as to the whole collection:

(1) There is no reference to any public event, or any matter of current talk, which might suggest a date. We hear of incidents in Plutarch's life, such as his return from a visit to Egypt, and the marriage of a son; and, in some cases, the year of office of local Greek officials is mentioned, but we have no

materials for following out these clues. Dr. Mahaffy has acutely pointed out that the *De tranquillitate animi* belongs to a date before Vespasian's death, because it contains a remark that no Roman emperor had been succeeded by his son. It is just such an indication for which we look in vain through all these pages of free and varied talk. As there is no appeal to Sossius Senecio as a high personage, it seems likely that all the books appeared successively before A.D. 99. On the other hand, Plutarch, born about A.D. 50, cannot have had a married son (see IV. 3) much before the end of the century. In VIII. 6, sons of Plutarch, apparently of school-boy age, are introduced, and again in VIII. 10. Ammonius, who was a philosopher of authority in A.D. 66 (see the *De E in Delphis*) seems to be in much the same position throughout this series. Nothing can be inferred as to the date of any particular dialogue from that of the book in which it is placed.

(2) Though the question is raised at the outset whether 'Philosophy' may be talked over wine, and answered by the question 'why not?' there is little or no discussion which can be called philosophical, in our sense of the word. Stoics and Epicureans are not confronted, and the *Summum Bonum* is left alone. 'What Plato meant by saying, if he did say, that "God geometriseth"' was a tempting subject to discuss on Plato's birthday, and some light is thrown on the *Timaeus*. The heading of one lost dialogue, 'As to our not remaining the same, while being is always in flux,' sounds really 'stiff.' Many questions of Natural History arise, and there is a well-marked group of medical dialogues, in each of which a physician takes part; such problems as 'Whether new diseases can arise and from what causes' (VIII. 9), 'Whether a varied or a simple diet is better for the digestion' (IV. 1), 'the causes of Bulimus' (VI. 8), are discussed with knowledge and freedom by professionals and laymen alike.

(3) Nothing in these dialogues suggests the future writer of the *Lives*; who was to interest posterity in human char-

acter as seen in action upon a great scale, in the shifts of 'Fortune' and the unconquerable mind of man.

(4) These are essentially conversations over wine, and we hear a good deal about the properties of wine, and the etiquette of wine-parties. There is none in which any unseemliness due to drink is mentioned or suggested. An apparent exception is noticed below. Nor do we have the connoisseur's views on different vintages, such as we may gather from Horace or Martial for those of their own day and country.

(5) The charm of the *Symposiacs* lies in the simple good faith of the narrator; each dialogue is the report from memory of a real conversation between real persons; a topic raised in one is often carried on into the next, and discussed by the same speakers, perhaps with one or more added. The persons named as taking part in them are some ninety in number, without making any allowance for the lost dialogues. They fall into groups; we have Plutarch's near relations and connections by marriage, physicians, grammarians, Roman gentlemen, philosophers, sophists, and so on. I only wish now to call attention to Plutarch's two brothers, Lamprias and Timon.

Timon (II. 2, II. 5), of whom Plutarch speaks elsewhere with much affection (*De Fraterno Amore* 487 E), does not appear in the later books. Volkmann, who identifies him with the person named in a letter of the Younger Pliny (I. 6), thinks that Timon settled in Rome. Of Lamprias, with whom we are now concerned, Trench has written—I add a few references to support his points: 'Evidently a character, a good trencherman, as became a Boeotian (II. 2, IV. 5), one who on occasion could dance the Pyrrhic war-dance (IX. 15), who loved well a scoff and a jest (VIII. 4) . . . and who, if he thrusts himself somewhat abruptly into discussions which are going forward (I. 2), was quite able to justify the intrusion.' The last point may be a little enlarged. In the *De E in Delphis* we have the report of a discussion which took place at Delphi in A.D. 66, 'many years ago,' in which Ammonius took part and the brothers Lamprias and

Plutarch, both, no doubt, very young men. Lamprias (p. 386 A) calls attention to the 'received opinions' about the letter in question. Ammonius, a teacher of authority, and a man of tact and humour, an ἀγαθὸς προβατογνῶμων who knew all about the young men of his day, gave a quiet smile; Lamprias could be trusted to produce a 'received opinion' made on the spur of the moment upon any problem. This facility seems to have been inherited from his grandfather, a genial and learned man, full of old memories, quoted in the *Life of Antony*, c. 28 for the bewilderment of a young medical friend, a Boeotian, at the vast resources of Antony's larder. In IX. 2, p. 738 B 'my grandfather' is quoted for a somewhat hazardous theory about the letter Alpha. From the tense used, we may suppose that the old man was then dead.

Plutarch's father, who is never mentioned by name, was a very different person. When a question was raised on a point of stable terminology (II. 8, p. 641 F), the father 'being the last man to extemporise an opinion on fine points of language' but having always owned winning horses, settles it from his practical knowledge.

One other trait must be mentioned to the credit of Lamprias. On one occasion at Delphi (VII. 5) some young men of the chorus came in elated by their own performance, and were noisy and rather troublesome. It is Lamprias who calls them to order, whether chosen to do so on the principle of the φῶρ δεινός, or, as we would rather believe, because he was, in essentials, a man of character. He explains to them, with gravity and tact, that intoxication may be the result of over-indulgence in 'music,' as surely as of that in wine.

¹ The text has ἥκιστα περὶ τὰς ἰσηγορίας αὐτοσχέδιος ὄν. ἰσηγορίας can hardly be right, though Volkmann suggests a forced sense. προσηγορίας, ἰστορίας, ἱστοροφίας have been proposed. But there is no reason why the scribe should have stumbled over any of these, and he generally goes wrong upon less familiar words. I would venture to suggest εὐπειλοφίας as possible. It is a rare word, used half a dozen times by Plutarch, once (682 B) in the plural, and in the sense required here, see Wytenbach's note on 31 E. From the variations in the spelling of the word it seems to have given trouble.

Lastly, so far as Lamprias was anything serious, he was a Peripatetic (II. 2, 635 B).

Now was this a suitable person to act as Moderator, and to speak on behalf of the Academy, in two learned and elaborate works, equally with the *Symposiacs* reports of real discussions among real speakers, though, unlike them, arranged with considerable literary skill? No doubt Lamprias may have been a graver person in later life than he was in Nero's reign, and may have changed his nominal philosophic allegiance; but it seems incredible that one of so marked personality should be introduced without any touch of personality, while other friends, as Theon, Sylla, etc., are just what we know them.

If Lamprias were really dead when these dialogues were written, may not Plutarch have himself taken up the old family name? We are assured by Demosthenes (πρὸς Βολύτων περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος) that no Athenian ever called two sons by the same name, and this may have been true of Boeotian usage also. But this does not make it clear that a dead brother's name might not be assumed; and the practice of some royal lines supplies instances. Indeed the very issue in the case argued by Demosthenes suggests some freedom in the transference of a name. However, it is not necessary to assume anything so formal; it would be enough if Plutarch's intimates chose, 'for love and for euphony,' to keep in use a name pleasant on the lips from its liquid syllables, and endeared to them by associations. We have other instances, in these dialogues, of people for one reason or another 'called out of their name.'

This hypothesis assumes that the *Symposiacs*, as a whole, were earlier than the two dialogues mentioned at the outset; and it may be convenient to notice references in Plutarch's other works, to the *Symposiacs* or their contents. In the *Life of Marcus Brutus* we read that Brutus had an attack of 'the distemper called Bulimia,' after a march over snow to Dyrrachium. After describing the symptoms, 'But this,' writes Plutarch, 'I have, in another place, discussed more at large,' referring

to the passage in the *Symposiacs* (VI. 8) mentioned above. Brutus had a considerate enemy; for the food required by his curious complaint was supplied from the town which he was attacking, a courtesy which was not forgotten when he entered it as a conqueror.

In the *De Facie* (939 F) the phenomenon of putrefaction accelerated by moonlight (of which an interesting account will be found in Captain Marryatt's *The King's Own*, chap. xxii.) is briefly mentioned; it is discussed in detail in the *Symposiacs* (III. 10). Dr. Max Adler, of Vienna, in his careful and valuable examination of the *De Facie* and the *De Defectu* (*Dissertationes Vindobonenses*, vol. X., 1910) infers that the more elaborate discussion is the later. The same scholar finds reason to think that the *De Facie* is earlier than the *De Defectu*, but he reserves his proof, which I have not been fortunate enough to find in such subsequent numbers of the *Dissertationes* as seem to have reached this country.

One of the lost *Symposiacs* (IX. 10) dealt with the question 'Why the moon is more often eclipsed than the sun.' This apparent phenomenon (for the fact is the other way) is considered in the *De Facie* (p. 932 C.).

Another instance is supplied by mention of Plato's view as to liquids passing into the lung (*Sympos.* VII. 1, compared with 1047 C.).

The case of the *De Pythiae Oraculis*, the second of the 'Delphian dialogues,' on the question why responses are not now given in verse, is somewhat different. It is dramatised, not narrated; at least the narrative comes from Philinus, one of the speakers in a preliminary drama, and Plutarch is not present. Philinus describes the tour of a party round the sights of the temple, the fussiness of the guides, and the naïve remarks of the young Diogenianus, son of a friend of the same name who figures in the *Symposiacs* (which illustrate the severity of the judgments of youth, a trait not unmarked by Plutarch). Then follows a sit-down debate on the main question, concluded by a long and authoritative speech of Theon, who refers to his own

services and benefactions to Delphi and the adjoining Pylaea. M. Chenevière, in his attractive study on Plutarch's friends, remarks that, under whatever name, the leading speaker always conveys Plutarch's views. I do not doubt that this is so here, but not in the sense that Theon's personality is merged in that of Plutarch. In the *Symposiacs* 'Theon our comrade,' to be distinguished from 'Theon the grammarian,' appears as a very intimate friend, and always in dialogues held at Chaeronea or Delphi. He is present at the marriage of Plutarch's son (IV. 3), and in the *Consolatio ad Uxorem*, Timoxena is reminded of the delicate sympathy given by her to Theon's wife in a domestic sorrow. Theon is appealed to when a quotation is wanted, and is full of literary knowledge, and may therefore easily be confused with his namesake the Grammarian. In the *De Facie* Theon plays a bright and important part, and in the *non posse suaviter* he is in charge of the Academic position against the Epicureans. Probably he was a rich neighbour, and had endowed the temple and town in the manner mentioned.

The *De Genio Socratis* is another dramatised dialogue, but the events and speeches belong to history, and to a time some four centuries back. Capheisias, brother of Epaminondas, narrates to an audience assembled at Athens the fine exploit of Pelopidas and his fellows (Epaminondas holding himself in reserve), in recovering the Citadel of Thebes, wrongfully held by a Spartan garrison. Long discussions on the nature of the 'Spirit' of Socrates,

to which Simmias, a young Pythagorean delegate, and others, contribute, fill up the intervals in the main action recounted. This intermixture of strenuous action with profound and curious speculation is very interesting. The first speaker in the dialogue is made to draw out an analogy between the painter and the historian, and to call for a story to satisfy the true enthusiast in works inspired by that great Art Virtue. In the opening of the *Life of Pericles* we find a similar figure, and a warm protest against the theory of 'Art for Art's sake.'

May we suppose that at some definite time Plutarch began to feel the triviality of always discussing such themes as 'Whether the number of the fixed stars is likely to be odd or even,' and 'Why mushrooms grow after thunder,' and set himself to find a more strenuous motive in 'Virtue' and Action? Is it fanciful to suppose that his researches into Theban traditions about Socrates led him to the great character of Epaminondas, and the noble severity of the early Pythagorean brotherhood, and so to the undertaking of the *Lives*? Or was it the other way? It is hard to guess the answer to such questions on *a priori* grounds. We should welcome, if we could have it, any clear link between the author of the *Lives* and the author of the writings which Southey, perhaps too fondly, placed on Daniel Dove's shelves, as 'the worthier half' of Plutarch's works.

These works are an imperfectly charted ocean, but, as Plutarch has reminded us,

Θεοῦ θέλοντος κἂν ἐπὶ ῥητὸς πλείους.

OVIDIANA: NOTES ON THE FASTI.

III.

VI. 419-436.

Moenia Dardanides nuper nova fecerat Ilus
(Ilus adhuc Asiae dives habebat opes):
creditur armigeræ signum caeleste Minervæ
urbis in Iliacæ desiluisse iuga.
cura videre fuit: vidi templumque locumque.
hoc superest illic: Pallada Roma tenet.
consultit Smintheus lucoque obscurus opaco
hos non mentito reddidit ore sonos:
'aetheriam servate deam, servabitis urbem:
imperium secum transferet illa loci.'

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servat et inclusam summa tenet Ilus in arce,
curaque ad heredem Laomedonta redit.
sub Priamo servata parum. sic ipsa volebat,
ex quo iudicio forma revicta suaest.
seu genus Adrasti, seu furtis aptus Ulixes,
seu pius Aeneas—eripuisse ferunt:
auctor in incerto, res est Romana. tuetur
Vesta, quod assiduo lumine cuncta videt.

The passage is printed as above in Peter's latest edition; the first hand

of V gives *illi* in line 424 and *gener* in 433. The last four lines are hardly as Ovid wrote them. Lines 433, 434 lack a principal verb; Peter, following Madvig (*Adv.* II. p. 109), thinks that the predicate to *genus Adrasti, Ulixes* and *Aeneas* can be supplied mentally from *eripuisse*. Heinsius says 'Vix Latinitatis ratio constabit huic versui nisi cum Sarraviano codice (p) *eripuisse datur* rescribas. Unus Farnesianus *eam. an, eripuerit deam?*' He read in his text *datur*, and many editors¹ have followed him (including Merkel² in his earlier editions). It seems, however, rash to assume that Ovid would use *datur*=*narratur*. Riese and Davies read *eripuisse ferunt* in parentheses. The next two lines are even more perplexing, for we cannot discover any sequence or meaning. Leaving aside *auctor in incerto*, which is probably the apodosis of the *seu-seu-seu* clause in 433, 434, how are we to interpret *res . . . videt*. The lines were for a long time a puzzle to Gronovius and Heinsius. In 1637 Gronovius drew Heinsius' attention to Scaliger's *vetusque* (for *tuetur*), and he himself suggested reading *iuncta* for *cuncta* in 436 (*Syll.* vol. III. p. 25). In his notes in 1661 Heinsius pronounced the lines to be spurious, and he bracketed them in his text.³ He questioned *res est Romana*, and said that we would expect rather *res est Troiana*. But such a change would not, I think, help us much. All the commentators that I have seen take *res est Romana* to mean 'the Palladium is at Rome.' But to Roman ears could anything be suggested by the Latin except the *Res Romana*—viz. the Roman State? It is thus that Ovid uses the words *res Romana* (*Met.* XIV. 809), just as he talks of the *res Latina*, the *res Danaa*, the *res Troiana*. If the *littera scripta* of the MSS. is as fixed as Theseus, let us translate 'It,

the Palladium, is (*i.e.* represents) the Roman State.' But how shall we proceed? What is the point of the following words—'Vesta watches over it, because she sees everything with her flame that never dies'?

Vesta herself—or rather the opinions about her current in Ovid's day—may enlighten our darkness.⁴ Everything connected with this goddess was for the ordinary Roman particularly holy, and the holiness was enhanced by the mystery which enshrouded the goddess and her temple. She was essentially the *rerum custos intimarum* (*Cic. Nat. Deor.* II. 27),⁵ and *res intimae* are not for the common gaze. The *aedes Vestae* was *arcana* (*Fast.* III. 143). Her holy Fire (*arcanae faces*, *Claud. de laud. Stilich.* III. 69) were hidden from every man except the *pontifex maximus*. Holier than the Fire was the *penus Vestae*: even the *pontifex maximus* was not permitted to touch or see the objects contained therein; these objects were *sacra*, *non adeunda viro* (450). In the inner part of this *penus* was a Holy of Holies, which contained the most treasured *sacra* of the State (*τὰ ἐντὸς ἁδικτα*, *Plut. Cam.* 20; *ἐπὶ ἀπόρρητα* *Dion. Hal.* II. 66). Among them were the original *di penates* *p. R. Q.*, which poets and antiquarians alleged had been brought by Aeneas from Troy. And there also was the Palladium,⁶ an object so holy that it was popularly believed that it could be seen only by the *virgo Vestalis maxima* ('*vittata sacerdos, Troianam soli cui fas vidisse Minervam*,' *Lucan.* I. 598; *cf.* IX. 993). When in the reign of Commodus the *aedes Vestae* was burnt, this holy object was exposed to the vulgar gaze: *τῆς Ἑστίας τοῦ νεῶ καταφλεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς γυμνωθὲν ὥφθη τὸ τῆς Παλλὰδος ἄγαλμα ὃ σέβουσιν τε καὶ κρύπτουσι Ῥωμαῖοι κομισθὲν ἀπὸ Τροίας*,

¹ Including Paley and Hallam.

² He now brackets 433, 434.

³ He suggested, however, reading:

'*auctor in incerto. Praeses (or Praestes)*
Romana tuetur

Vesta, quod assiduo lumine iuncta videt.

Vesta iuncta 'quod videt iunctum Vestae Palladium, nempe quod eodem templo est sub Romanae Praesidis Vestae tutela.'

⁴ For *Vesta* and the *penus Vestae*, see Wissowa, *R.K.*, p. 159, Warde-Fowler, *R.F.*, pp. 145-154, *R. E.*, p. 136; on the Palladium, see especially Marquardt-Wissowa, p. 252, n. 4, Preller-Jordan, *R.M.*, I. pp. 298, 299.

⁵ The *penus* in which her *sacra* were kept is described as '*locus intimus in aede Vestae*' (*Fest.*, p. 250).

⁶ 'Hic locus est Vestae qui Pallada servat et ignem' (*Trist.* III. 1, 29).

ὡς λόγος. ὃ τότε πρῶτον καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰλίου ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀφίξιν εἶδον οἱ καθ' ἡμῶς ἄνθρωποι (Herodian, I. 14, 4-5).

Such were, I think, the popular views about Vesta and the Palladium in Ovid's day. Ovid's knowledge was perhaps even less than that of his contemporaries. He was surprised to find his preconceived ideas about Vesta to be unfounded (VI. 296, cf. 253). Just as he had thought that there was a statue of Vesta, so when he was at Troy he thought that there would be no difficulty in seeing the Palladium. He was reminded by his cicerone that it was at Rome. He gives a sketch of its adventures, assuming that Aeneas (cf. I. 527, 528; III. 422; VI. 365) brought it with the other *sacra Troiana* to Italy. We do not expect him to say again that it is now in Rome; he has already told us so (424). But we do expect him to say that he attempted to see it at Rome (cf. 423), or at least to explain his failure to do so. And his reticence is all the more remarkable inasmuch as he goes on to tell of the memorable occasion when the Palladium was seen and handled by a man—a *pontifex maximus*¹ at that (437-454). Now this curious break in Ovid's narrative is occupied by the words 'res est Romana. tuetur | Vesta quod assiduo lumine cuncta videt.' If you ask why Vesta has charge of the Palladium, you might answer in the words of Cicero (see above) 'quod Vesta est rerum intimarum custos,' and that is what Ovid means by 'quod Vesta cuncta videt': nothing is a *res intima* for Vesta, for she sees everything. There are taboos for the multitude, for men, even for women and Vestals, but not for the *rerum custos intimarum*. Now we have a Major Premiss 'Vesta beholds all *res intimae*' and a Conclusion 'Vesta beholds² the Palladium.' The missing Minor Premiss seems to be 'The Palladium is a *res intima*.' If

we had an explicit statement of this sort, we would understand at once why Ovid did not see the Palladium at Rome, and we would understand, moreover, the sequence of thought which leads him to tell of the only occasion on which the Palladium was seen at Rome by a man.

It is unlikely, if this interpretation of the passage is correct, that Ovid failed to make such an explicit statement, and it is unlikely that the principal verb is to be supplied mentally in lines 433, 434. Supposing that Ovid wrote
 seu genus Adraستي seu furtis aptus Ulixes
 seu rapit Aeneas (et rapuisse³ ferunt),
 auctor in incerto, res est arcana: tuetur

Vesta, quod assiduo lumine cuncta videt
 it is not hard to account for the text as in V. We need postulate only a copyist obsessed by two ideas: (1) that Aeneas was pious; (2) that the Palladium was at Rome. Such a copyist has his excuse. Aeneas is, to school-boys at least, indecently pious. Ovid took pains, especially in the *Fasti*, to confirm the title conferred by Virgil. In I. 527 and III. 601 we have *iam pius Aeneas* . . . ; in IV. 799 *hunc morem pietas Aeneia fecit*; in II. 543 *hunc morem Aeneas, pietatis idoneus auctor, | attulit in terras*. Our copyist was not unique; in III. 424 some copyists insisted on writing *pius* for *gravis*, for which change there is less optical cause than for converting *rapit* into *pius*.⁴ Once *rapit* had disappeared, the meaningless *et* was absorbed, and *erapuisse* became *eripuisse*. We have innumerable examples of such transformations, there are a number to be found in the

³ *Et rapuisse* is more likely than *hunc rapuisse*; the affirmative *et* (like *namque, enim, etenim*) is not uncommon in parenthetical remarks—here are a few from a large number that I have noticed in Ovid: 'credor (et ut credar pignora certa dabo),' *Fast.* III. 74; 'nec potes (et velles posse),' *Rem.* 298; 'sicut erant (eterant) culti,' *Am.* II. 5, 45; 'visa dea est movisse suas (et moverat) aras,' *Met.* IX. 782. *aut rapuisse* is also not impossible, cf. *Met.* VIII. 513 'sen dedit aut visus gemitus est ille dedisse,' cf. *Fast.* VI. 632.

⁴ In *Hor. Odes* IV. 7, 15 I am content to side with Bentley against Keller and Holder's Class I. and Class II. *Pius* has here ousted the more appropriate *pietis*, see Bentley *ad loc.*

¹ Ovid tactfully ignores the fact that Metellus was blinded for his presumption in looking at the goddess (Pliny, *N.H.* VII. 141, *Juv.* VI. 265). Otherwise the comparison between Metellus and Augustus (453-457) would be ill-timed.

² *Tuetur* (435) includes the notion *videt* (436).

MSS. of the *Fasti*. In the change of *arcana* to *romana*, the optical suggestion of the letters was even greater, and the influence of the context (of the *Fasti* as a whole as well as of this particular passage) hardly less. *Roma*, *Romanus* are perpetual words in this poem. A few lines above the copyist had read that the Palladium was at Rome (*Pallada Roma tenet*); he reads that it had been taken from Troy by Aeneas—'to Rome' he adds in his mind, and he is prepared to see and write *romana*. We perceive, psychologists tell us, what we wish to perceive. Our copyist wished or at least expected to see *pius* ('hunc morem pietas Aeneia fecit!') and *romana*, and he saw these words.¹ And even if he did see *res est arcana*, and thought about the words, he might think it a strange, if not a disrespectful way of referring to a deity; he would hardly remember that Janus could describe himself as a *res prisca* (I. 103), that Ovid in his heyday was a *res magna* in his wife's eyes (*Trist.* IV. 3, 59), that Ovid said of the man of whom he stood most in awe *res est publica Caesar* (*Trist.* IV. 4, 15). Every condition was against the strange *res est arcana* and in favour of the familiar *res est romana*.

A *res arcana* is a *res secreta et sacra*. In *Met.* IV. 223 *res arcana est* is equivalent to *res secreta est*, but the secret is such as only a mother can discuss with a daughter. In our present passage, if I am right in restoring the word, there is also the notion of secrecy; the Palladium is a secret for Ovid and for all men, and for all except one woman. Hence he did not see it; hence he is

led to tell of the one man who had seen it—Metellus. But the word implies also a mystic secrecy, which attached as we saw to everything connected with Vesta, and *a fortiori* to the holiest of her *res intima*.²

The sequence of thought may now be restored: who did the deed, whether Diomed or Ulysses or Aeneas (Rumour says he did), is uncertain, the Palladium is a thing sacred and hidden from the eyes of men; Vesta sees it and guards it, because nothing is hidden from her eyes. I have punctuated so as to attach *res est arcana* to the apodosis. This is indicated, I think, by the omission of *est*; in other places where Ovid uses the words *in incerto* and in similar expressions (like *in dubio*), it seems to be his rule to insert *est*. Here there is a rhetorical antithesis between the uncertainty regarding the *auctor rapiendi*, and the complete mystery surrounding the *res rapta*.

With regard to the rest of this passage which I have printed according to Peter's text, we should read *illi* (adv.) with Davies in 424; it is the reading of V, and the form is Ovidian, see Owen's note on *Trist.* I. 1, 17. The change of *gener* (V₁) to *genus* (V₂) seems desirable though Apollodorus (I. 8, 6) may be quoted in support of *gener*—Διομήδης . . . γηρας Αἰγιάλειαν τὴν Ἀδράστου, <ᾗ> ὡς ἐνίοι φάσι, τὴν Αἰγιάλεως. Aegialeus was son of Adrastus (I. 9, 13). But I cannot believe that all is well with line 432:

sic ipsa volebat
ex quo iudicio forma revicta sua est.

The absence of any qualification for *iudicio*, the position of this word after *ex quo* (= *ex quo tempore*) from which it must be separated in construing,

¹ The substitution of *pius* and *Romana* was largely due to the 'Suggestion de l'ensemble du contexte,' assisted by optical resemblance, see Havet, *Man. de C.V.*, pp. 142, 144. In III. 880 R has *rome* (*rore*), IV. 753 *romulucum* (*ramo lucum*), and there are other blunders of this kind. It is not impossible that *pius* was an explanatory gloss. Medieval commentators regarded *Pius* as part of Aeneas' name. The Commentator Oxoniensis says on IV. 41, 42: 'Silvius Eneas qui fuit natus de Lavinia uxore Pii Enee et Postumus dictus quia post hum[an]ationem patris natus est,' showing that for the writer 'Pius Aeneas' was on a par with 'Silvius Aeneas.'

² Lactantius Placidus has an interesting note: '*arcanum nunquam inspectura pudorem*: arcanum pudorem dicit aut eius simulacrum verum, id est Palladium, quod illicitum erat cernere—quo quidam quondam viso privatus est visu—aut virginitas,' etc. (*Theb.* II. 740). This Lactantius, like his namesake of Nicomedia, was well acquainted with the *Fasti*—he quotes twice from the Sixth Book—and his note may be based on a reminiscence of our passage.

The inscription, first cited by Neapolis, *Or.* 2494, is spurious.

and the remarkable *revicta* for *victa* rouse one's suspicions.¹ A solution will be found if we look at lines 43, 44 of this book—

causa duplex irae: raptō Ganymede dolebam,
forma quoque Idaeo iudice victa mea est.

These lines have been bracketed rightly by Gütthling, Davies, Peter, and others. They interrupt in an intolerable fashion the sequence (41 'tum me paeniteat,' 45 'paeniteat,' 47 'paeniteat,' 51 'sed neque paeniteat'); and the *quoque* for the simple *copula* has evidently been regarded as unsatisfactory (see the variants in Merkel). But *Idaeo iudice* is good.² I find it hard to believe that the ordinary interpolator (to judge from his handiwork in the *Fasti*) could have evolved the neat 'forma . . . Idaeo iudice victa mea est,' just as I feel unwilling to saddle Ovid with the lame 'ex quo iudicio forma revicta sua est.' I suggest that our interpolator in 43, 44 built up his distich out of the correct version of the pentameter 432, which he probably found added on the wrong folio of his MS. What he found was

forma quod Idaeo iudice victa sua est.

In its proper context misfortune had befallen the line: the copyist of our archetype may have found

forma quod iudicio iudice victa sua est.

If a schoolboy was asked to build *forma quod* (perhaps *quo*) *iudicio victa sua*

¹ Prof. Housman proposed to read *ab hoste revictum* for the impossible *ab Hectore victum* in *Her. I. 15*: he cited this passage to establish the use of *revincere* = *vincere* in Ovid, see *C.R.* XI. p. 103. The only possible instance of *revictus* = *victus* in Prof. Housman's list is *Lucr. I. 593* (*revicta* = simply *victa*—Munro), but even in that place *revicta* seems to contain the notion *viciissim victa*; all composite bodies are vanquished in turn and changed into other substances—*alid ex alio reficit natura*. Suppose, says Lucretius, that the atoms were like composite bodies, that they could be vanquished in turn and changed into other things—'si primordia rerum | commutari aliqua possent ratione revicta.' *Revicta* belongs to the assumption which he makes only for the sake of argument, and in this connection it is as appropriate as *commutari*.

² Cf. *IV. 121* 'Caelestesque duas Troiano iudice vicit.'

est into a pentameter, he would in all probability reproduce the line that disfigures our texts. *Iudicio iudice* for *idaeo (ideo) iudice* would be classed by M. Havet as 'Anticipation amorcée—substitution après l'émorce' (*Man.* p. 135). There are many examples to be found in MSS. of the *Fasti*.

We have a transposed interpolation in *VI. 407, 408*:

saepe suburbanas rediens conviva per undas
cantat et ad nautas ebria verba iacit.

I have not been able to see why editors have accepted this couplet without comment. In its present context it is quite meaningless, and it is not hard to discover its genesis. Some interpolator was at work on the passage describing the festival of 'Fors Fortuna' (771-790), and evolved the above lines as an improvement on 785, 786:

ecce suburbana rediens male sobrius aede
ad stellas aliquis talia verba iacit.

He may have been puzzled by 'suburbana aede (= templo Fortunae)': it is not unlikely that he thought the remark about the rising of Orion's Belt would be addressed more fitly to sailors than to the stars (cf. 715, 716). The interpolation is clever and not in itself unworthy of Ovid. It seems to contain a reminiscence of *V. 337-340*. But it did not succeed in ousting the genuine lines, and it owes its present position in our texts to some injudicious copyist.

Glosses as distinct from interpolations are not uncommon in the text of *Fasti*. I have suggested that we have such intrusions in *II. 203, 204, 749; VI. 346, 434*. A gloss will enter even in defiance of metre. A number of MSS. read in *II. 714*:

qui dederit primus oscula victor erit,

and this barbarism has not lacked supporters.³ In *II. 638* our two best MSS. have:

³ Ciofani, Neapolis, and Barth ('perperam notant grammatici Ovidium mediam pentametri syllabam nunquam corripuisse,' *Adv. XXXVII. 10*). Carrio (*Em. II. 10*) points out that *primus* (714) and *dederunt* (715) are only glosses for *princeps* and *tulerunt*.

et 'Bene vos, bene te, patriae pater, optime Caesar'

dicite suffuso in sacra verba mero.

Another class of MSS. (*m*, *D*, *C*, and others) read *sint bona verba*, but editors weary themselves trying to emend *in sacra verba* of the older MSS. The explanation of this variant is obvious if we look at the *fragm. Ilf.* (also *C*?). There we have apparently:

i. sacra

dicite suffuso sint bona verba mero.

I have no doubt that the archetype of R and V was glossed in the same way, and that some copyist interpreted *i. sacra* as a correction (*ī sacra*). The right reading is to be deduced from *sint bona verba*; it is possibly *sic bona verba* (Baehrens), though I would suggest *sub bona verba*.

When a gloss accommodates itself to the metre, the danger of its intrusion is great. In VI. 99, 100 the MSS. have:

ite pares a me. perierunt iudice formae
Pergama. plus laedunt quam iuvat una
duae.

Ovid is not adverse to using the ablative of instrument of persons; see

Palmer, *Her.* V. 75, XII. 162, and Draeger II. p. 548. But I do not think there is an instance to match 'perierunt iudice formae Pergama,' nor do I feel satisfied that Ovid wrote 'ite pares a me.' Now some commentator—not the original glossator—has written at the bottom of the page in *C*, illustrating line V. 110 'in libro inferiori (*i.e.* VI. 99, 100) eiusdem sententiae versus

Pergama Troiano perierunt iudice formae:
laedere plus possint quam iuvat una duae.'

Is it possible that the writer has preserved the true version of VI. 99, 100? *Ite pares a me* may be only a gloss on line 98—'res est arbitrio non dirimenda meo.' The glossator could have borrowed *ite pares* from *A.A.* III. 3 ('ite in bella pares'), or he may have been thinking of Calpurnius, *Ecl.* II. 99 ('este pares'). The gloss would oust the first words of line 99, and the lines would owe their present shape to the patchwork of a subsequent corrector.

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LIVY AND THE NAME AUGUSTUS.

LIKE the great writers of the Augustan Age, Livy was a warm supporter of the Emperor and his policies. He touches but very slightly (I. 3. 2), to be sure, on the connexion of the Julian house with Aeneas and the tradition of the origin of Rome which the *Aeneid* brought into popular knowledge some years after Livy wrote his first book. It may even be doubted whether the more immediate ancestry of Augustus was the subject of panegyrics in the later books of the historian who praised Pompey so highly that the Emperor dubbed him a Pompeian,¹ and who questioned whether the birth of Julius Caesar had brought more good or more harm to the Roman state.² But Livy's attitude toward Augustus himself is clearly attested by the evidence for the warm personal relations

that existed between them and, better still, by several references to the Emperor in Livy's history. Indeed every one of his definite allusions to events of his own day—there are only five—is concerned with the achievements of the Emperor.³ Except in one case, where the statement that Germany was but lately a pathless wilderness (IX. 36. 1.) makes indirect allusion to the prowess of the Emperor's arms, Augustus is mentioned by name. He is 'templorum omnium conditor ac restitutor' (IV. 20. 7); in his reign the temple of Janus was closed for the second time since its foundation (I. 19. 3); under his auspices the troublesome province of Spain was at last thoroughly subdued (XXVIII. 12. 12); in connexion with his new

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 34.

² Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* V. 18. 4.

³ Cf. Dessau, *Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld* (1903), p. 164.

marriage law he is represented as reading in the senate the speech in which Quintus Metellus Macedonicus made a similar proposal a hundred years before (*Per.* LIX.). To these explicit references Professor Dessau has made the not improbable suggestion that two others may be added. He sees in the statement of the *Praefatio*, 'donec ad haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est,' an allusion to the marriage law which Augustus proposed in 28 and then withdrew (*Propertius*, II. 7).¹ He thinks that the discussion in IV. 20 of the circumstances in which the *spolia opima* were dedicated by Aulus Cornelius Cossus may have been dictated by a desire to explain the refusal of the right to dedicate *spolia opima* to Marcus Licinius Crassus in 27 B.C.²

In this connexion it seems worth while to call attention to a striking use in Livy of the word *augustus* in contrast to *humanus* which, though without definite allusion to the Emperor, is apparently an intentional commentary on the meaning of the title which the Octavian assumed in 27 B.C. The five cases of the use all occur in the first decade. Now Livy was writing the first book between January 27, when the Emperor took his new title, and 25 B.C., and it is very probable that the first decade was completed within the next few years. The references come therefore shortly after the Emperor began to be called Augustus. The passages are: I. 7. 9 (of Hercules) 'habitu formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem *augustio*remque *humana*'; V. 41. 8 (of the appearance of the old men waiting in the Forum for death at the hands of the Gauls) 'ornatum habitumque *humano augustio*rem'; VIII. 6. 9 (of a vision appearing to Decius and Manlius), in 'quiete . . . visa species viri maioris quam pro *humano habitu augustio*pisque'; VIII. 9. 10 (of Decius preparing for the *devotio*): 'aliquanto *augustior humano* visus sicut caelo missus piaculum omnis deorum irae.' The

contrast is less direct in *Praefatio* 7: 'datur haec venio antiquitati ut miscendo *humana* divinis primordia urbium *augustiora* faciat.' Although *augustus* is constantly used in a religious sense, the only close parallel to this use is found in a passage of Valerius Maximus that may well be an echo of Livy: I. 8. 8 (of a description of the vision of Julius Caesar that appeared to Cassius at Philippi): 'quem . . . vidit humano habitu augustiorem purpureo paludamento amictum.' The similarity between these passages and Cassius Dio's definition of the new name is marked: (53. 16. 8) Ἀύγουστος ὡς καὶ πλείον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὧν ἐπεκλήθη· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμώτατα καὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα αὐγούστα προσαγορεύεται.

Livy seems to be defining the new name as if he feared that its true significance might not be understood. Later in a passage that refers explicitly to the Emperor Ovid does the same thing in somewhat different terms. Here, too, there is a suggestion of the contrast between *augustus* and *humanus*. *Fasti*, I. 605-612:

Nec gradus est ultra Fabios cognominis ullus:
illa domus meritis Maxima dicta suis.
sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus
omnes,
hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet.
sancta vocant augusta patres: augusta vocantur
templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.
huius et augurium dependet origine verbi,
et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget ope.

Suggestions as to the reason why *augustus* was the title selected by Octavian have recently been made by Professor Haverfield and Professor W. Warde Fowler. The former, noting the close association of the words *augustus* and *augur*, thinks that the abbreviation *AUG.* for *augur*, found on coins of Mark Antony that must have been in circulation in 27 B.C., may have suggested to Octavian the title Augustus which is also frequently abbreviated *AUG.*³ Against this suggestion which seems in general improbable it may be particularly urged that the abbreviation *AUG.* for *Augustus*, though common on

¹ Cf. Dessau, *Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld* (1903), pp. 461-466.

² Dessau, *Livius und Augustus*, in *Hermes*, XLI. (1906), pp. 142-151.

³ Haverfield, *Journal of Roman Studies*, V. (1915), pp. 249-250.

later coins, cannot be dated before 19 B.C.¹ On the early coins and on nearly all the inscriptions of Augustus the name is written in full. Professor Fowler, in his new book *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, hazards a most illuminating conjecture. He would read as an attribute the word *augustus* in the line (*Aen.* VII. 678): 'Hinc augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar.' Following a suggestion of Nettleship that the account of the battle of Actium in the description of Aeneas' shield was originally written as a separate poem shortly after the battle, he was very tentatively suggests that the line quoted from that description 'may in fact have been responsible for the famous name.'

But an adequate explanation of the choice of *augustus* seems to be provided in the special religious connotation of the epithet which exactly fitted the Emperor's needs.² Although he did not actually claim personal divinity, Octavian must already have appreciated the aid in legalising his power that was rendered by the worship which his oriental subjects and, to a far lesser degree, his western subjects as well were ready to accord to him and to his house.³ In styling himself *divi filius* as early as 37 B.C. he was probably not unconscious of the effect of such a title in establishing his rule. After Actium there was need of a new name to indicate his peculiar position of pre-eminence in the reconstituted state. It was both safer and more effective to take a name of religious import that would indicate

the 'germ of a deity in him,'⁴ rather than to call himself Romulus as he wished but dared not do.⁵ The Emperor, therefore, had recourse to the old custom of having the senate vote a descriptive title⁶—one that differed, as Ovid shows, from the titles that were voted to the heroes of old in that attributed to him not human but divine characteristics. In the Greek *σεβαστός* he found an impressive title that may well have been coined for the occasion, for it occurs first, it would seem, in the history of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (II. 75) published in 7 B.C., and is rarely used except in references to the Imperial family. Cassius Dio's statement about the word indicates that it was unfamiliar: (53. 16. 8) καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντες πως, ὥσπερ τινὰ σεπτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάσθαι προσείπον.

The Latin *augustus*, on the other hand, is used often by Cicero, regularly in a religious sense,⁷ and frequently as a synonym of *sanctus* and *religiosus*.⁸ Of these words *religiosus* was unsuitable for a name because of its ambiguity, and *sanctus*, the word that the Christians later made peculiarly their own, was too common to be distinctive. *Divinus*, regularly the opposite of *humanus*, would have seemed to make too explicit a claim to divinity, though the emperors of the third century did not hesitate to apply it to their families. The choice naturally fell on *augustus*, a word which, through its etymological connexion with *augere* and perhaps with *augur*⁹ too, had a particularly rich

¹ The abbreviation *Aug.* occurs first on coins dated after the dedication of the altar of Fortuna Redux, December 15, 19 B.C. Cf. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, III., p. 30. Professor Haverfield cites no case of the abbreviation *Aug.* in inscriptions earlier than the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

² On the name *Augustus* see Cassius Dio, 53. 16; Suet. *Aug.* 7; *Mon. Anc.* c. 34; *CIL*, I², pp. 307 f.; Censorinus, *De die natali*, 21. 8; Velleius, 2. 91. For further references see Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, pt. 2, pp. 297 f.

³ Cf. Pelham, *The Domestic Policy of Augustus in Essays on Roman History* (1911), pp. 109-113; W. S. Ferguson, *Legalised Absolutism en route from Greece to Rome in Am. Hist. Rev.* XVI. III. (1912-1913), pp. 29-37.

⁴ Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity* (1911), p. 126.

⁵ Cassius Dio, 53. 16. 7; cf. Florus II. 34. 36: 'Tractatum etiam in senatu an quia condidisset imperium Romulus vocaretur; sed sanctus et reverentius visum est nomen Augusti ut scilicet iam tum dum colit terras ipso nomine et titulo consecraretur.'

⁶ Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. pp. 212-213.

⁷ Only in Brutus 295 does Cicero use the word in the sense of *magnificus, admirabilis*, common in later times. See the *Thesaurus*.

⁸ Cicero, *Har. Resp.* 12, *satis sanctum, satis augustum, satis religiosum*. Cf. also *Verr.* V. 186; *N.D.* I. 119; II. 62. 79; III. 53; *Tusc.* V. 36.

⁹ See the *Thesaurus* and Walde's *Lateinisches-etymologisches Woerterbuch*. The con-

connotation. Professor Conway has noted that the conception of physical superiority, natural from the connexion with *augere*, is strong in the word in *Aeneid* VII. 678. He thinks that it probably indicated a certain enlargement in the figure of Augustus in

nexion with *augur* is maintained by Zimmermann, *Archiv für lateinisches Lexicographie*, VII. pp. 435 f. Cf. Professor O. L. Richmond's interesting comments, *Journal of Roman Studies*, IV. (1914), p. 216.

Aeneas's shield.¹ It is worthy of note that the same idea of physical superiority, not often predominant in the word, as a glance through the cases cited in the *Thesaurus* will show, is strongly emphasised in four of the cases which I have cited from Livy.

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¹ Quoted by Warde Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, p. 112.

LATIN POETIC ORDER WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HORACE EPODES 5. 19.

I HAVE for some years been making a close study of word-order in Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*. The conclusion has been forced upon me that the order of words is no more negligible in poetry than it is in prose. It is true that orders occur in poetry which would not be equally common in prose; and yet such non-prose orders are surprisingly few. One common type, however, with rare parallels in prose, merits special attention. It has a psychological interest which may be thus illustrated. Suppose we enter a room and see upon a table a red flower in a silver bowl. What makes more impression on the mind? Is it the antithetical colours, red and silver, and the antithetical objects, flower and bowl? Or is it the antithesis of the combinations, red flower and silver bowl? English decides for the latter; Latin poetry, more often, for the former; and, with rare exceptions, the two colours (literal or metaphorical) are put first and the two objects last. Thus while prose might write *flos purpureus stat in lance argentea*, poetry will prefer the grouping *purpureus argentea stat flos in lance*, or chiasmic orders such as *argentea purpureus stat flos in lance*, etc.

This grouping, as I have said, is in prose very rare. I know one case in Cicero, viz. *De Off.* 2. 7. 23, *reliquorum similes exitus tyrannorum*, and two cases in Livy, viz. 6. 34. 7, *parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri*, and 22. 2. 3, *omne veterani robur exercitus* (where, however, the MSS. show variations); and, doubtless, other parallel instances may be

found. But in poetry the device is a commonplace.

The neatest type is seen in the formula adj. A, adj. B, verb, noun A, noun B. Compare Lucr. 5. 1068, *suspensis teneros imitantur dentibus haustus*; Verg. *Aen.* 7. 10, *proxima Circaeae raduntur litora terrae*; Ovid. *Her.* 4. 80, 81, *exiguo flexos miror in orbe pedes; seu lentum valido torques hastile lacerto and passim*.

Less common is the formula adj. A, adj. B, verb, noun B, noun A, as in Hor. *Odes* 3. 7. 25: *niveum doloso credit tauro latus*.

These two types, with the verb in the centre, we will call types α^1 and α^2 respectively. The formula adj. A, adj. B, noun A, noun B, and the verb anywhere, we will call β ; the formula adj. A, adj. B, noun B, noun A, or adj. B, adj. A, noun A, noun B, both with the verb anywhere, we will call β^2 . All four types occur in Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*, and make a total of nearly 200 instances.

Of type α^1 the first case in the *Odes* is I. 2. 11, 12, *superiecto timidæ natarunt æquore damæ*; of type α^2 , I. 3. 10, *fragilem truci commisit pelago ratem*; of type β^1 , I. 3. 23, *impias non tangenda rates transiliunt vada*; and of type β^2 , I. 1. 14, *Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare*.

A notorious line in Lucan (8. 343) should, I think, be regarded as a case of type β^2 , viz.:

*quem captos ducere reges
vidit ab Hyrcanis (A) Indoque (B) a litore (B)
silvis (A).*

Had Lucan written *aque Indo* in place of the slight chiasmic variety *Indoque a*, there would have been no need to quote the line as a 'rare hyperbaton'; and much the same defence might be raised for Manilius i. 429, *discordes-vultu* (A) *permixtaque* (B) *corpora* (B) *partus* (A).

But to return to Horace—the importance of bearing in mind these types is seen clearly when we face such a 'derangement of epitaphs' as is provided by the commentators on *Epod.* 5. 19:

*iubet (Canidia) cupressos funebres
et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine 19
plumamque nocturnae strigis . . .
flamnis aduri Colchicis.*

Here the editors offer a bewildering variety of interpretations. The most favoured dogma appears to be that *ova* and *plumam* belong to *strigis*, and that we should translate by 'an owl's eggs and feathers smeared with blood of hideous toad.' Gow and Page have their doubts, and well they may; for if the conventional interpretation be cor-

rect, Latin order is a Chinese puzzle, and school-boys should not be permitted to spend valuable time on this exhilarating game. But if we follow the principles of Latin poetic order as demonstrated above, we shall arrive at conclusions less complimentary both to Horace and to Latin poetry.

The grouping *uncta turpis ova ranae* is simply that of type β^1 . I submit that these words *must* be read by a Roman as 'eggs anointed of foul toad,' and that *ranae* goes with both *ova* and *sanguine*, for it lies between them. We may, if we like, in the Horatian manner, supply *unctam sanguine (strigis)* with *plumam*.

Dr. A. S. Way, in his translation (Macmillan, 1898), says rightly:

'And the spawn a loathly toad had voided,
smeared with blood,
And the feather of a screech-owl, bird of gloom.'

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JESTS OF PLAUTUS, CICERO, AND TRIMALCHIO.

Plaut. *rud.* 766-8.

L. ibo hercle aliquo quaeritatum ignem.
D. quid quom inueneris?

L. ignem magnum hic faciam. D. quin inhumanum exuras tibi?

L. immo hasce ambas hic in ara ut uiuas comburam, id uolo.

On *inhumanum*, which he marks as corrupt, Leo observes 'quid fuerit apud medicos quaerendum'; Professor Lindsay refers his readers to *C.R.* XVIII p. 402, where he cites the verse as evidence for the pronunciation of *gn* in Latin and says 'Clearly this strange reply is due to the resemblance of *ignem magnum* in pronunciation to *inhumanum*.'¹ That hardly diminishes any strangeness it may have; and I believe that the problem can be solved without

researches in the abyss of ancient medicine or hypotheses about the pronunciation of *gn*.

When one speaker announces his intention of going about to make a great fire, and the other thereupon enquires 'What for? to burn the churlishness (or something of that sort) out of you?' this insult at first sight appears to have two incongruous faults: it is both clumsy and mild. It does not seem to arise naturally, as a good insult should, from the previous conversation, and it is not nearly so offensive as a bad insult, unconfined by any requirements of neatness, might easily be. Why should the proceedings of Labrax suggest the notion of burning any element out of anybody? and why should the particular element be *inhumanum*?

¹ In the same note he cites for the same purpose *Cic. de rep.* IV 6 (Non. p. 24) 'censoris iudicium nihil fere damnato obfert nisi ruborem. itaque, ut omnis ea iudicatio uersatur tantummodo in nomtne, animaduersio illa ignominia dicta est, and comments 'So Cicero pronounced *ignominia* more or less as "innominia." Non

sequitur: the only inference which can be drawn from Cicero's words is that he derived *ignominia*, quite rightly, from *nomen*: there is no indication that he made the mistake of deriving it from *in nomine*.

Because men once went about to make a great and famous fire which had for its purpose to burn out of a certain person the element of *humanity*; and that person's name was casually and inadvertently mentioned by Labrax when he made use of the interjection *hercle*. Minuc. Oct. 22 7 'Hercules, ut hominem exuat, Oetaeis ignibus concrematur', Ouid. met. IX 250-3 (Jove is the speaker) 'omnia qui uicit, uincet, quos cernitis, ignes | nec nisi materna Vulcanum parte potentem | sentiet: aeternum est, a me quod traxit, et expers | atque immune necis nullaque domabile flamma', 262-5 'interea, quodcumque fuit populabile flammae, | Mulciber abstulerat, nec cognoscenda remansit | Herculis effigies, nec quicquam ab imagine ductum | matris habet tantumque Iouis uestigia seruat', Sen. H.O. 1966-8 (Hercules to Alcmena) 'quidquid in nobis tui | mortale fuerat, ignis euictus tulit: | paterna caelo, pars data est flammis tua.' Fire was used with the same intent though not with the same effect by Thetis on Achilles, Apollod. bibl. III 171 *ὡς δὲ ἐγέννησε Θέτις ἐκ Πηλέως βρέφος, ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, κρύφα Πηλέως εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐγκρύβουσα τῆς νυκτὸς ἔφθειρεν ὃ ἦν αὐτῷ θνητὸν πατρῶον*, Apoll. Rhod. IV 869 sq. *ἡ μὲν γὰρ βροτέας αἰεὶ περὶ σάρκας ἔδαιεν | νύκτα διὰ μέσσην φλογμῷ πυρός*, and by Demeter on Demophon or Triptolemus, Apollod. bibl. I 31 *βουλομένη δὲ αὐτὸ ἀθάνατον ποιῆσαι τὰς νύκτας εἰς πῦρ κατετίθει τὸ βρέφος καὶ περιήρει τὰς θνητὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ*, Ouid. fast. IV 553 sq. 'inque foco corpus pueri uiuente fauilla | obruit, humanum purget ut ignis onus'. Labrax therefore may be making a bonfire with a view to such self-improvement as the nature of his case allows. Burning him alive will not indeed turn him into a god, but it may perhaps turn him into a human being.

Both interlocutors are at home in mythology: Daemones at 604 recalls that swallows are the descendants of Philomela; Labrax at 509 is expected to know who Tereus and Thyestes were, and with the life of Hercules he seems to have been thoroughly familiar, for we owe to him our knowledge of a

detail recorded by no other authority, 489 sq.:

eapol, Libertas, lepida es, quae numquam
pedem
uoluisti in nauem cum Hercule una imponere.

Macrobian. Saturn. II 3 16 Cicero . . . cum Piso gener mollius incederet, filia autem concitatus, ait filiae 'ambula tamquam uir', <at genero 'ambula tamquam femina'>. et cum M. Lepidus in senatu dixisset patribus conscriptis <'ego non tanti fecissem simile factum'>, Tullius ait 'ego non tanti fecissem ὁμοίωτων'.

These supplements of the defective text are those of early editions, and they are approved by the latest editor Eyssenhardt. The second, though manifestly quite uncertain, is not manifestly false; for *fecissem . . . factum* would seem to come within Quintilian's definition of ὁμοίωτων inst. IX 3 78, though ib. 80 he refers 'non minus cederet quam cessit' to a distinct and different figure 'qua nomina mutatis casibus repetuntur'. But it is so inconspicuous and inoffensive a specimen of its class that it can hardly have elicited Cicero's raillery; and from the emphasis of 'patribus conscriptis' following upon 'in senatu' I should infer that Lepidus had slipped into some expression unfit for the ears of his audience, like that cited in *ad fam.* IX 22 2 'memini in senatu disertum consularem ita eloqui, "hanc culpam maiorem an illam dicam?" potuit opscenius?' This however is likewise uncertain: about the first of the two witticisms there should be no similar doubt. The supplement above given is wrong, and Cicero's own words can be recovered.

Piso had a mincing gait and Tullia a rapid stride: Cicero, displeased with these peculiarities, is supposed to say to his daughter 'walk like a man' and to his son-in-law 'walk like a woman'. That is what they did already and what he wished to break them of doing; and the form of *εἰρωνεία* which consists in saying the opposite of what one means is much too common and simple to constitute a pleasantry or to win a place among the *dicta Ciceronis*. The contrast between the pair suggested to

their sprightly relative a whimsical way of conveying his reproof. When he said to his daughter 'ambula tamquam uir', what he meant was 'walk like your husband'. And what he said to his son-in-law was 'ambula tamquam uxor'.

Petron. 41 6-8 dum haec loquimur, puer speciosus, uitibus hederisque redimitus, modo Bromium, interdum Lyaeum Euhiumque confessus, calathisco uuas circumtulit et poemata domini sui acutissima uoce traduxit. ad quem sonum conuersus Trimalchio 'Dionyse' inquit 'LIBER esto'. puer detraxit pilleum apro capitiq[ue] suo imposuit. tum Trimalchio rursus adiecit: 'non negabit[is] me' inquit 'habere LIBERVM patrem'. laudauimus dictum Trimalchionis et circumeuntem puerum sane perbasiamus.

I print this passage as Trimalchio would have wished it to be read. Our current texts, with their 'liber esto' and 'Liberum patrem', would show him that half his labour had been lost and half his wit wasted; and if he could consult the translators and commentators he would be grievously disappointed with most of them and thoroughly satisfied with none.

It is likely that many readers have understood the pun in 'me habere LIBERVM patrem', and it is not impossible that many translators have done so; but only two or three of them give proof that they understand it, and a larger number give proof that they do not. Trimalchio is happier dead than if he had lived to see such interpretations as 'dass Bacchus mein Sohn sey', 'the god of liberation is my father', 'I have freed him who frees us from care', 'on ne peut pas nier qu'à présent Bacchus ne dépende

de moi (iocus inter Liberum Patrem et seruum liberum)'. But as to 'LIBER esto', few even suspect that it contains a pun; few of those who suspect it can explain what the pun is; and nobody, not even W. K. Kelly, explains it in terms which would assure Trimalchio that he had not been casting pearls before swine.

There comes in a boy, Dionysus by name, as the sequel tells us, wearing a wreath of vine and ivy, handing round grapes, and declaring himself now Bromius, now Lyaeus, now Euhius. 'Dionysus', says Trimalchio, 'LIBER esto': that is, assume the character of the indigenous wine-god; be, not Bromius nor Lyaeus nor Euhius, but our Italian Liber. The boy, instructed beforehand, feigns to take the proper name for an adjective and to recognise the formula of manumission; he snatches the cap of liberty from the head of the lately enfranchised boar and claps it on his own. By this pun in action he has performed his master's bidding to the letter: LIBER est, and by logical consequence also *pater*: Seru. georg. II 4 '*pater licet generale sit omnium deorum, tamen proprie Libero semper cohaeret, nam Liber pater uccatur*'. Trimalchio's way is now clear to his next pun, 'non negabit[is] me habere LIBERVM patrem': in the words' first sense as they fall on the ear, 'father Liber is of my household',—and there stands Dionysus with his cap on to prove it; in their after-meaning, as they reach the mind, 'I am a freeman's son',—false within the knowledge of the whole company, and yet not deniable.

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TWO NOTES ON VIRGIL AND HORACE.

Aen. I. 462:

Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.

The key to the exact meaning of this famous verse, in the current interpretations of which *rerum* seems to mean anything or nothing, is to be

found in the observation that the genitive of *mortalia* is *mortalium rerum*. The two clauses are arrows shot at the same mark, in the manner familiar to us in the Psalter; not common in Latin poetry, yet not to be disallowed in any literature. They are: (1) *sunt lacrimae*

mortalium rerum; (2) *mentem mortalia tangunt*. 'Mortality hath its meed of tears: yea, it toucheth the heart to compassion.'

Hor. *Epist.* II. I, 161 ff.:

Serus enim Graecis admouit acumina chartis
et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit
quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile
ferrent.

There must be something wrong with the text here. The sentence has no subject; *serus* has nothing to qualify. It is incredible that Horace expected us to cast back for a nominative, to overleap two finite clauses, and find our subject in the object, *ferum uictorum*, of 156-7. In fact, if the text stands, we are required by elementary grammar to adopt *numerus Saturnius* from v. 158 as the subject, which is absurd. Further, the missing nominative has to carry on for at least three verses more, and to serve four more verbs. Of the ensuing sentence Dr. J. S. Reid writes (in a note contributed to Wilkins's commentary): 'It is almost impossible to believe that vv. 166-7 were not written with reference to some person. Ennius Pacuvius or Attius must have been taken as a specimen of the Roman tragic writers.' This seems unquestionable, and it follows that the corruption is deep-seated, and calls for heroic surgery.

Is there any other fault in the sentence as it stands which may help us to locate the error? I submit that the word *acumina* is unsatisfactory; not merely because we have to suppose that Horace wrote *acumina* for *acumen* with no better excuse than metrical convenience, but for a graver reason. If we translate, 'He (sc. the *ferus uictor*) applied his mind to Greek writings,' we are ignoring the metaphor; which we do the more readily because we happen to have borrowed the word *acumen* in its metaphorical, but not in its primary or physical, sense. To a Roman, however, familiar with the primary meaning of both verb and noun, the phrase *admouere acumina* (cf. *admouere stimulos* in Juv. X. 329, Cic. *Tusc.* III. 16, 35, etc.) must have suggested the image of an insect advancing its sting with intention, or a

man prodding somebody or something with the pointed end of a spear or goad; and this is clearly inapplicable to a diligent Roman (even though also *ferus* and *uictor*) enlarging his mind by the study of foreign literature.

If then *acumina* is suspect, and if the sense demands one of the three names mentioned, we may perhaps find a hopeful clue by noting that, if the name *Pacuius* lost its initial, by an accident not improbable in the hands of a scribe who did not know who Pacuvius was, the remnant would correspond, in respect of four of its seven letters (*acu.i..*), with *acumina*; and that the triple *u* might favour further mutilation, leaving a residue which would be readily expanded into *acumina* to make out the metre. *Pacuius chartis* is indeed impossible as the ending, and looks like the beginning, of a hexameter. But the following verse has, by reason of an uncommon caesura, a beginning metrically transferable to the end; indeed, if *post Punica bella quietus* survived as a fragment, we should naturally suppose ourselves to be reading the latter half of a hexameter verse. Before trying the transposition, however, we have to deal with *admouit*, a transitive verb which, for Pacuvius' sake, we have robbed of its object. I suggest, with diffidence, *admotus*; asking whether *-tus, -ust, -uit* is not a possible sequence of corruption; and whether *Graecis admotus chartis* might not carry the meaning, introduced to, or, attracted by, Greek manuscripts.

Let us then suppose that Horace wrote:

Serus enim Graecis, post Punica bella quietus,
Pacuius chartis admotus quaerere coepit;

that a scribe, whose eye fell from *-is* to *-is* immediately below, made it

Serus enim Graecis admotus quaerere coepit, but supplied the two half-verses he had omitted at the foot of his page; and that the next man, mistaking the reference marks, placed the end of 161 at the beginning of 162, and *vice versa*. A third copyist, doing his best to sort the jumble, might produce something very like the traditional text.

As for sense, *serus* and *post Punica*

bella quietus go very well together. 'Late in life' (better than 'late in Roman history'), 'in the leisure that followed the Punic Wars, Pacuvius, having his attention turned to Greek literature, began to enquire whether Sophocles, Thespis, and Aeschylus were of any use to him. He also tried his hand at translation,' etc. The scholarship here attributed to Pacuvius explains the compliment already paid to him (v. 56):

aufert Pacuvius docti famam senis; compare also senis with serus.

Reconstructions which postulate a long series of blunders are rarely acceptable, and I hardly dare expect acceptance of this one. It is published in the hope that some critic, better versed in the mysteries of the craft, may reach a more satisfactory conclusion from the same starting-point.

C. A. VINCE.

'STATIUS, POGGIO, AND POLITIAN.'

UNDER the above heading Mr. Garrod in 1913 contributed to this Review¹ what he described as 'a new piece of evidence,' which, after being singled out for special notice by Professor A. C. Clark in *The Year's Work* for 1914 (p. 56) as an interesting statement, has now made its way into Professor Phillimore's new edition of the *Silvae* (S.C.B.O., Praef. p. xii) as an ascertained fact, '... id quod felicissimus harum tenebrarum explorator Garrodus comperit.'

For students of Statius the mystery of Poggio's *Vetustissimus* and what became of it has the same perennial fascination that the mystery of Edwin Drood has for students of Dickens; and any scholar might well be forgiven if in dealing with it he let his imagination run away with him. But just for that reason sober criticism should be on the alert to test every 'piece of evidence' propounded. To some of us the new theory is particularly attractive, for it brings in Heinsius.

Mr. Garrod begins with a supposition. (a) 'It is usually supposed that the *Vetustissimus* ... was found by Poggio in the monastery of St. Gall. ...' 'This is not certain,' he adds, 'but it is probable, and only so far as it is probable ... is the piece of evidence of which I speak cogent.' He then proceeds (b) to argue from three passages in Burmann's *Sylloge*² (1) that *V.* was still at St. Gall in the time of Nicolaus Heinsius and that N.H.

secured access to it for Lucas Langermannus in the year 1651: (2)—this is not explicitly stated, but it appears to be clearly implied—that the MS. was duly collated by Langermannus for N.H., who in 1655 was 'still³ meditating an edition of the *Silvae*,' when the collation was unfortunately lost at sea, with other papers, in a shipwreck.

What an 'intriguing' theory! It reads like a page from a romance. First the rediscovery of the long-lost *V.*, then four years of full fruition (which yet have 'left not a wrack behind'), and then—then the shipwreck, and the precious collation goes down, carrying with it all the fruits of study to the bottom of the deep blue sea. Even the memory of the treasure-trove perishes so completely from the not unretentive mind of Heinsius that fourteen years afterwards we find him asking a friend to examine for him, not the *Vetustissimus* at St. Gall, but the *deteriores* in the Vatican, to clear up his *dubitationes* on a score of passages from the *Silvae*. But to resume.

On (a) Mr. Garrod, while regarding the supposition as probable, speaks—be it noted—with the utmost caution. But it is and it remains a mere supposition, nothing more. Professor Clark—a very weighty authority on all that relates to the literary discoveries of Poggio—takes the opposite view, and with far less reserve: 'I have never,' he writes,¹ 'seen any reason for supposing that

¹ C.R. vol. xxvii. p. 265 f.

² Vol. iii. pp. 283 and 345, and vol. v. p. 532.

³ Why 'still'? Is there any definite statement that he ever did meditate an edition?

Poggio got his copy' [of the *Silvae*] 'from St. Gall.' A verdict of 'Not Proven' is the only verdict possible on the facts.

In regard to (b) it would seem that (1) is the crucial point. 'Langermannus,' writes Mr. Garrod, 'had collated a MS. of the *Silvae*' (my italics) 'lent him by the monks of St. Gall.' But Heinsius does not say so. Mr. Garrod quotes the *ipsissima verba* himself; and here they are: 'Statium etiam vetustissimum contulit,' *e.g.s.* 'Statium'—so scholars constantly wrote in referring to the *Thebaid*—not 'Silvas Statianas,' the phrase which elsewhere—*e.g.* in Mr. Garrod's other passages from the *Sylloge* (III. 345 and V. 532)—N.H. uses to describe the less known and less quoted work, the *Silvae*. And a *Statius Vetustissimus* there was and is still at St. Gall—a MS. of the *Thebaid*, not of the *Silvae*—bound up with a mediaeval poem (*Oedipus on the Death of his Sons*), No. 865, saec. xii. For² this information and for what follows about St. Gall I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Clark, to whom, being deeply interested myself in the problem of *V*, I went for enlightenment, and who instituted an inquiry into the matter on the spot. The monastery, he tells me, also possessed in the ninth century³ both a *Thebaid* and an *Achilleid*, and later another twelfth-century *Thebaid*, now at Zurich,⁴ which might also be entitled 'vetustissimus.'⁵

As for 'vetusti'—let alone a 'vetustissimus'—of the *Silvae*, Heinsius

speaks for himself in the third of Mr. Garrod's passages from the *Sylloge*, viz. v. 532, to which allusion has already been made. The letter is undated but seems to belong to 1669. It is addressed to a friend in Rome, 'Falconerius,' and the relevant sentences run thus: 'Percurrerebam *Silvas* Statianas nuper, ad quas iam olim complura observavi, sunt enim mendosissimae etiamnum. *Codices vetustos eius Poematis nullos omnino in Bibliothecis inveniri opinor*; notae recentioris nonnullos, et si rariores et illos, scio hic illic extare. Vaticanos quinque cum vulgatis libris in meos usus Langermannus commiserat ante annos xv. sed schedae illae naufragio nobis paullo post periere. Cum Vaticanum alia de causa adieris, rogo, codices illos, et si qui alii postea accessere, inspicias, consulasque super locis hic a me annotatis," *e.g.s.* Not a word about the *Vetustissimus*. Not a hint of what might have been. No suggestion 'that there hath passed away a glory from the earth,' only a pathetic request for the *littera scripta* of inferior copies, as the best evidence the writer can hope to obtain on the text.

In regard to (b) 2, it is self-evident that the chief *Silvae* papers lost in the wreck were the collations of these Vatican copies 'notae recentioris,' which in 1659 N.H. is seeking to replace. What the 'meae aliaeque illius lucubrationes' (*Sylloge* III. 345) were, we can only conjecture, but after what has been said it would seem to be in the highest degree improbable that they included anything at all relating to the 'Vetustissimus Poggii.'

The *Sylloge* is a badly indexed book, and between the covers of its five bulky volumes it may contain other evidence on the point.⁶ My inquiry has been confined to the three passages indicated at the outset. It is a thankless task to spoil a good story which one would be only too happy to believe; but on the evidence before us Mr. Garrod cannot yet be said to have made out a case.

D. A. S.

¹ In a letter (dated November 21, 1915) which he permits me to quote.

² Cf. *Verzeichnis der MSS. der Stiftsbibl. von St. Gallen.* G. Scherrer (Halle, 1875), p. 298.

³ Cf. Weidmann, *Bibliothek von St. Gallen* (St. Gallen, 1821), p. 422: 'Statius in Thebaide. . . In alio libello idem in Achilleidos.'

⁴ The Zurich MS. C. 62 (saec. xii.) has the St. Gall mark on ff. 195, 207, and appears to be the MS. which is described by Scheuchzer (1713) in a MS. catalogue (c. 366) of books removed from St. Gall to Zurich. It contains *Stat. Thebais, Servius Honoratus de finalibus, Theobaldus de natura primarum syllabarum, Martyrologium Bedae.*

⁵ Thus N.H. describes as 'veterrimi,' *Urbinas* 341, saec. xi.-xii.; and *Vatican. Palat.* 1669, saec. xii. *partis prioris*; and as *antiquissimus Paris.* 8001 (olim Berneggerianus), saec. xii.-xiii. The dates given for the three MSS. are

those assigned to them by Dr. H. M. Bannister, Mr. J. P. Gilson, and M. Omont respectively.

⁶ Professor Phillimore in a footnote refers to '*Sylloge* v. p. 265'; but this must be a misprint; v. p. 265 contains no mention of Statius.

NOTES

ΠΕΡΙΣΚΕΛΗΣ.

THE following note first appeared in an article dealing with ancient coin dies which was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1916.¹ It has been suggested that readers of the *Classical Review* would be interested in a point which is of a literary and philological rather than of a strictly numismatic interest, and I have accordingly made an extract from my longer article, with certain additions and changes.

ἀλλ' ἴσθι τοι τὰ σκληρὰ ἄγαν φρονήματα
πίπτειν μάλιστα, καὶ τὴν ἐγκρατέστατον
σιδηρον ὅπτον ἐκ πυρὸς περισκελῇ
θραυσθέντα καὶ ραγέντα πλείστ' ἂν εἰσίδῃς.
Antigone 474-476.

Creon says: 'Yet I would have thee know that o'er-stubborn spirits are most often humbled; 'tis the stiffest iron, baked to hardness in the fire, that thou shalt oftenest see snapped and shivered.' So Jebb translates, and in his note gives 'tempered to hardness' for ὅπτον . . . περισκελῇ. Blümner, *Technologie* IV. p. 348, has similarly—and almost wilfully—gone wide of the mark in saying that we must not assume a knowledge of technical detail in Sophocles, that Creon's words refer not to steel in the making but to the finished article, and that the meaning is that the hardest steel is often most easily broken.²

It is curious that neither Blümner nor Jebb saw a flaw in this explanation, for they both wrote at some length on *Ajax* 646 f.:

ἀπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς ἀναρίθμητος χρόνος
φίει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται.
κούκ' ἐστ' ἀελπτον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀλίσκεται
χῶ δεινὸς ἔρκος καὶ περισκελεῖς φρένες.
κάγῳ γάρ, θεὸς τὰ δεινὰ ἑκαρτέρουν τότε,
βαφῇ σιδηρὸς ὥς, ἐθελύνθη στόμα
πρὸς τῇσδε τῇς γυναικός.
Ajax 646-652.

Sophocles knew the technical details perfectly well—whom better might we

expect to know them than the son of Sophillos the rich armourer?—and I am unwilling to believe that by ὅπτον . . . περισκελῇ in the passage from the *Antigone* he meant, as Jebb and Blümner held, the finest tempered steel, as though he had written ὅπτον καὶ ἐκ τῆς βαφῆς περισκελῇ. But in the passage of the *Ajax* the technical knowledge which enables him to use βαφή of the bath for tempering steel would of course tell him that an earlier process of heating the metal was implied, and would be understood by all who could understand this meaning of βαφή.

The fact is that iron merely hardened in the fire and not tempered by immersion is left brittle, and this, I venture to suggest, is the meaning of περισκελής; hence

θραυσθέντα καὶ ραγέντα πλείστ' ἂν εἰσίδῃς

—not an encouraging commentary on the work of the ancient smiths and a bad advertisement for the family foundry if it really referred to the finest tempered steel which they could produce. Besides, 'tempered steel' as a translation for ὅπτον . . . περισκελῇ in the *Antigone* passage makes Creon's onslaught lose point, as he is concerned with his obstinate and undisciplined citizens, not those who, like Ajax, are of a finer metal.

Translate περισκελῇ, then, in the *Antigone* by 'brittle': 'Stubborn spirits are often humbled just as hard iron passing through the fire becomes brittle and is easily broken.' For this meaning the words σκελετός (skeleton) and ἀσκελής (dried), which come from the same root, are apt comparisons; and compare 'brittle' with the metaphorical meaning 'stubborn,' which has correctly been used to render περισκελεῖς φρένες in *Ajax* 649, where Jebb quotes our line from the *Antigone*, and says: 'Thus the associations of the word lead naturally to his next thought.' Possibly so: but certainly not because περισκελής when used in this association means 'finely tempered'; for in that case the metaphorical equivalent would not be 'stubborn' but a word meaning

¹ A Dekadrachm by Kimon and a note on Greek coin dies (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1916, pp. 113-132).

² Dean Plumptre's translation also gives 'the rigid steel baked in the furnace. . . . 'Tempered' and 'steel' both give an erroneous impression, 'steel' being quite indefensible.

'hard' in some good sense—e.g. dauntless or morally strong.

S. W. GROSE.

THE MILITARY ROADS OF AGAMEMNON.

EVIDENCE for the kingship of Agamemnon over the whole of Greece is found in the existence of what are called military roads. Remains of roads have been discovered in the vicinity of Mycenae, but Dr. Leaf, admitting that it involves 'passing beyond the actual evidence into inference,' argues for a 'system' of such roads leading to the more distant parts of Greece (*Homer and History*, 224n). That, he thinks, need not surprise us, seeing that such highroads are really a necessity of central government.

The remains are described in the works of Schliemann, Schuchhardt, and others. There are traces of three roads leading north to the Isthmus, and of one leading south to Tiryns. But there seems to be no ground for saying they extended beyond the Isthmus. The remains—of paved roadway, culverts, and protecting fortifications—are of the 'Cyclopean' kind. If there were such roads outside the Peloponnesus, some traces must surely have survived, but no reference is quoted, even from classical authors.

A system of roads of such calibre, so to speak, could hardly have escaped notice. A Cyclopean highway along the Isthmus past the Scironian Rocks must have been famous. Nor is it stated that made roads for chariots were found to be a necessity in any of the other ancient empires, as Assyria and Egypt, in which this particular machine was used in warfare. On the other hand, that such roads were not a necessity to an ancient empire is clearly shown from India. It has been said, and there is no reason to question the assertion, that Moghuls and Marathas alike never had a mile of made road away from their capitals, nor had their early predecessors who, like Agamemnon, used war chariots. And again, it must not be forgotten that a system of roads converging on Mycenae would

constitute a danger to its rulers. It would help, and even suggest and invite, a coalition against the central power, the wealth of which, in times when the hand of every tribe or state was against its neighbour, would of itself tempt those of inferior status and resources. I read in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1917, p. 377, that it was the great roads which Rome constructed across the Brenner that proved her undoing by facilitating the passage of the barbarian hordes from the north. And again, Agamemnon, if Emperor of Greece, would have had in his fleet, which could have landed troops at any of the good harbours on the northern shores of the Gulf of Corinth, a simpler means than by the long détour by land through the Megarid and Boeotia of reaching unruly subordinates in Central or Northern Greece, or of hampering or cutting the communications of an invading force.

We must conclude that the roads were for a merely local purpose, and the one which we can conjecture consists with Bérard's theory. The roads were made to help traffic from the southern and eastern seas through the mountains to the Gulf of Corinth and the western seas beyond, and we may see in the fact that three led north from Mycenae, an indication of the extent of the trade. One roadway would suffice in the plain, where the passing of animals going in opposite directions would be a simple matter. It would be different in the hills, as anyone can understand who has had experience of mountain tracks regularly used by strings of pack bullocks. Cp. p. 58 of the *Rise of the Greek Epic*².

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GENERAL RELATIVE CLAUSES IN GREEK.

IN *Classical Review* XXXI. Nos. 3-4 (1917) Professor J. A. Smith raised a question to which I have hesitated to reply, not from any dubiety as to the answer, but rather because I doubted whether I correctly understood him.

1. In connexion with Plato *Rep.* X. 596 A εἶδος γὰρ ποῦ τι ἐν ἑκάστον εἶω-

θαμεν τίθεσθαι περὶ ἕκαστα τὰ πολλὰ, οἷς ταῦτὸν ὄνομα ἐπιφέρομεν, Professor Smith asks: 'Is it possible for a relative clause with the simple *ὅς* and its verb in the indicative to express generality or specify a group of groups?'

Certainly. Not only so, but *ἄν* with the subjunctive, which Professor Smith seems to desiderate, would have a different, and here totally inappropriate, meaning. There is no difference in point of *generality* between the indicative and the subjunctive: only the indicative assumes a fact, the subjunctive makes a hypothesis. 'All S is P' is in Greek, if S is 'a fixed collection of groups,' *ἄ ἔστιν Σ*, and not at all *ἄ ἂν ᾗ*. I do not wish to labour a point which almost any page of Plato or Aristotle would illustrate. I take a text at random. It happens to be the *Ethics*, and in the opening chapter I read *ὦν δ' εἰσὶ τέλη τινὰ παρὰ τὰς πράξεις, ἐν τοῖς βελτίω πέφυκε τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τὰ ἔργα*. To appreciate the point let anyone contrast Plato *Phaedo* 75 D περὶ πάντων οἷς ἐπισφραγίζομεθα τὸ δ' ἔστι with Plato *Legg.* 855 E τῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων ὅσα ἂν εἶναι καίρια δοκῇ.

2. Professor Smith further doubts the translation of ταῦτὸν ὄνομα as 'a common name,' which he thinks would rather be κοινὸν ὄνομα, and he suggests that it means 'the same name as before.' This is wholly mistaken. See, for example, Plato *Phaedo* 103 E ἔστιν ἄρα . . . περὶ ἕνα τῶν τοιούτων, ὥστε μὴ μόνον αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος ἀξιόσθαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλο τι, ὃ ἔστι μὲν οὐκ ἐκεῖνο, ἔχει δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μορφήν αἰεὶ ὅταν περ ᾗ: which is precisely parallel to the *Republic* passage and where no pedantry could suggest 'the same name as before.' The fact is that the 'common name' is expressed indifferently by κοινόν, ἓν, ταῦτόν.

To avoid misunderstanding I should note that, under certain circumstances into which I cannot here enter, the use of *ἄ* with the indicative tends to encroach upon *ἄ* with *ἂν* and the subjunctive even in hypothetical generality. This is especially the case in *sententiae* and so in poetry, but is by no means confined to poetry. Soph. *O. T.* 1409 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐδ' ἔσθ' ἄ μηδὲ δρᾶν καλόν. Aristotle *Eth. N. I.* 3 (1094^b) ἕκαστος δὲ κρίνει καλῶς ἃ γιγνώσκει,

precisely as Plato *Apol.* VI. ἄ μὴ οἶδα οὐδὲ οἶομαι εἰδέναι. In all these cases *ἄ* with *ἂν* and the subjunctive would be possible: whereas in the passage of the *Republic* in question it would, in any appropriate sense, be inconceivable.

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THUCYDIDES II. 48. 3.

αὐτὸς τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας. Discussed by Richards (*C. Q.* VII. 245), who proposed for the second αὐτὸς to read πολλούς, and by Rhys Roberts (*C. Q.* VIII. 16), who defends the text; lastly by Postgate (*Cl. Rev.* XXVIII. [1914], p. 84) who proposes αὐτὸ ἰδών.

Professor Rhys Roberts rightly defends the text. He might have made it a little clearer that αὐτὸς—ιδών is an 'eye-witness,' so that αὐτὸς in no way repeats the first αὐτὸς.

Most of us are familiar, like Professor Postgate, with the curious Thucydidean use of αὐτό in general reference: But—

1. Its position here would be intolerable.

2. αὐτὸ . . . πάσχοντας is not Greek for ταύτην τὴν νόσον νοσοῦντας.

3. πάσχοντας is precisely right. As ὁ παθὼν means the 'victim,' so ὁ πάσχων means the 'patient.' I need not accumulate examples—e.g. Plato *Republic* 410 A τοὺς μὲν εὐφυνεῖς . . . θεραπεύουσιν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ . . . ἀποθνήσκουν ἑάσουσιν, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν κακοφυνεῖς καὶ ἀνιάτους αὐτοὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν; Τὸ γοῦν ἄριστον, ἔφη, αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς πάσχουσιν καὶ τῇ πόλει οὕτω πέφανται: which is just the use in Thucydides.

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VIRGIL, AEN. VIII. 90.

Ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo.
Labitur uncta vadis abies; mirantur et undae.

CONINGTON's note says '*rumore secundo*' is rightly taken by Cerda to mean the cheering of the crews. But was it a time for 'prosperous cries' (Mackail), or even for 'the cheerful strain of the rowers' chant' (A. Sidgwick)? War has broken out; all Latium is ablaze; Aeneas is hurrying to

get assistance, first from Evander, then wherever else he can. He must row his two biremes quickly up the river to Pallanteum, without advertising his whereabouts to all and sundry any more than need be. The editors tell us that line 90 was already a puzzle in the time of Servius, who mentions with approbation the reading '*rumore secundo*'—Rumo being, he says, an old name for the Tiber. Ti. Donatus fancied that *rumor* meant the noise of the waters. That is to say, the ancient commentators didn't know what to make of *rumore secundo*. But in Mosella 22 Ausonius has '*amoena fluentia | subterlabentis tacito rumore Mosellae*.' That is to say, Ausonius took *rumore* in *Aen.* 8. 90 to mean the rushing flow of water. In this instance the poet is better interpreted by the poet than by the commentator. *Rumore* here means 'with flow of waters.' But why then *secundo*? Father Tiber has smoothed his waters for Aeneas; but Aeneas is still voyaging up-stream, not down. Therefore *secundo* here must mean 'second' 'next after' 'astern.' Who put the full-stop at *secundo*? Not Vergil, I suspect, but some librarius, some more or less modern editor. The stop should be at *celerant*, and not a full-stop even there, for *rumore secundo*, ablative absolute, goes mainly indeed with *labitur* of 91—, glides on, with rush of waters in the wake—but also connects quite closely with *celerant* of 90: the waters 'swept behind; so quick the run' (Tennyson, *The Voyage*, Stanza 2).

Translate: 'So then the voyage begun they quickly speed: with purling wake the well-pitched keel glides on the waters.'

E. J. BROOKS.

CICERO, AD. ATT. VIII. 4.

Dionysius quidem tuus potius quam noster, cuius ego cum satis cognossem mores, tuo tamen potius stabam iudicio quam meo, ne tui quidem *testimonii*, quod ei saepe apud me dederas, *veritus* superbum se praebeuit in fortuna, quam putavit nostram fore.

THE difficulty in this passage is the use of '*vereri*' with the genitive.

In Tyrrell's edition, *Cicero* in his

Letters, p. 252, Reid suggests that some word on which '*testimonii*' depended has most likely dropped out, and remarks that possibly '*verba*' has been lost before '*veritus*.'

The present writer suggests the insertion of '*veritatem*' before '*veritus*,' so that the passage would read:

ne tui quidem testimonii . . . veritatem veritus . . .

The jingle in '*veritatem veritus*' is not difficult to parallel in Latin. The following instances may be given:

Cicero:

- (a) Judices, quos fames magis quam fama commovit (*Att.* IV. 15).
- (b) Facie magis quam facetiis ridiculus (*Att.* I. 13. 2).
- (c) Moles molestiarum (*De Orat.* I. § 2).
- (d) Pleniore ore (*De Off.* I. 18. 61).
- (e) Ciceroni in Epistulis excidit, mihi res invisae visae sunt, Brute (*Ad Brutum*).

Terence:

- (f) Inceptiost amentium haud amantium (*Andria*, I. 3. 13).

Plautus:

- (g) Hodie hunc dolum dolamus (*Mil. Gl.* 3. 3. 64).

Livy:

- (h) Oneratus magis quam honoratus (27. 30. 4).

Lucretius:

- (i) Penitus penetralia (I. 529).

Also:

- (j) Acer acerbus.
- (k) Non honos est sed onus.

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LIVY XXIV. 26¹⁰.

Aversis auribus animisque cassae ne tempus terrentur ferrum quosdam expedientes cernebat tum omissis pro se precibus puellis ut saltem parcerent orare institit.

THIS is the reading of P. Some later MSS. have *tereretur* for *terrentur*. It is generally agreed that the last syllable of this word conceals the *ut* which seems to be required with *cernebat*. The editors rewrite the sentence in various ways, but none of them make anything satisfactory out of *cassae*. I believe that *cassae* is the mutilated relic of *incassum*: with this alteration and the generally accepted adoption of *tereret ut* and the easy omission of *tum* between *cernebat* and *omissis* a reasonable sentence results: 'On their turning a deaf ear to her entreaties, to avoid

fruitless waste of time, when she saw some of them drawing their swords, she ceased to plead for herself and implored them at least to spare her

young daughters.' For the slight redundancy of *incassum ne tempus tereret* cp. X. 29² *vana incassum iactare tela*.

A. G. PESKETT.

REVIEWS

DE PLUTARCHO SCRIPTORE ET PHILOSOPHO.

De Plutarcho Scriptore et Philosopho Scripsit J. J. HARTMAN, Lit.Hum. Dr. in Universitate Lugduno-Batava, Professor Ordinarius Lugduni Batavorum. Octavo. One vol. Pp. x+690. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1916.

ON January 12, 1807, an explosion on a barge in the river at Leyden caused the pen to drop from the hand of David Wytttenbach, when his continuous commentary on the *Moralia* of Plutarch had nearly reached the end of the *De E apud Delphos* (p. 392 D). Wytttenbach has described the incident in several letters; the pen was never resumed for Plutarch, unless to add to the *Index Graecitatis*, which appeared in 1821, a year after the author's death. He had already (1795-1800) completed the laborious task undertaken in 1788 for the Oxford University Press, by the completion, under difficulties caused by the European War, of a complete text, with revised Latin translation and critical notes. He had also, in 1772, brought out a detailed commentary on the *De sera numinis vindicta*, which was reprinted at Oxford in the last volume of the general commentary (1821). In Wytttenbach's own judgment, this was a work more suited to his power than that larger undertaking, intended to cover the whole of Plutarch's works.

In the century which has intervened much has been excellently written on Plutarch the man and the moralist. On the literary and philological side of his works as a whole there has been little to help, with the exception of Volkmann's study on the life and writings (1869), which is philosophical in scope, but includes a very careful study as to date and authenticity, of all

the principal pieces of the *Moralia*, and the Teubner text (1888-1896). There has been nothing of the completeness of Professor Hartman's present volume, which supplies a detailed estimate of each piece in itself, and in relation to Plutarch's life and other works, not omitting the *Lives*, and several pages of critical notes on each. M. Hartman is an enthusiast, and views his author in relation to modern ideals and to the personalities which are most alive for himself. Besides papers, literary and critical, which have appeared in *Mnemosyne*, he has written much in the vernacular on Plutarch, and has translated many of his works. His new book, and especially the *Epilogus*, which he charges his readers to take up first, may be taken to be a recapitulation or revision of the substance of *De Avondzon des Heidendoms* (2 vols., Leyden, 1910), now served up for the benefit of the residuum 'qui Belgice nescimus,' and will be heartily welcomed. The author writes the sound and attractive Latin which we expect from a pupil of Cobet, and a successor to the traditions of Hemsterhuys, Ruhnken, and Wytttenbach.

We have in the *Moralia* a tangled mass of writings of different authenticity and value—eighty-three pieces in all, besides fragments. Many readers will be content with Montaigne's method, which was that of the Danaids, to dip, and throw to waste, and dip again. It was recommended to him by Plutarch's light touch, the liberality with which he suggests a train of thought and passes on. The intrinsic importance of some of the dialogues and the charm of the author set us seeking for a more definite clue, if one is to be found. We look to chronology, but it is just

here that there is little to help us. It is agreed that Plutarch was born about A.D. 50, and was living about A.D. 125, but within those limits little can be stated as definite fact. It is agreed also that the *Lives*, as a whole, were written at Chaeronea and in later life, in the main after the *Moralia* were complete. A few pieces supply their own date. The *De tranquillitate animi* must, as Dr. Mahaffy has pointed out, be earlier than the death of Vespasian, because it contains a remark that no Roman emperor had so far been succeeded by his son. So the *De sera numinis vindicta* must be later than that event. Such indications are surprisingly few in so discursive and unreserved a writer; they are fewest when he writes most at his ease, in the *Symposiasts*.

Volkmann has looked to philosophical content for a clue. Professor Hartman has found one in the conception of Plutarch as a 'Physician of the Soul' ('mentium medicus'). The phrase is used by Plutarch himself in the *De tranquillitate animi*, but the metaphor is of course much older. It has been applied to him by M. Charles Lévêque in an article which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of 1867 (vol. 71, p. 725), being a review of M. Gréard's work *De la morale de Plutarque*, inspired by a recent visit to Boeotia, a sympathetic and beautiful study. M. Gréard had shown in his concluding chapter that Plutarch's lofty morality stopped at the individual, and did not rise to the larger conceptions of the later Stoics or of Christianity. M. Lévêque finds in him a moralist born, with an unflinching tact in discerning and treating the infirmities of other men, which he applied to the amelioration of his own countrymen in an age of decadence (M. Hartman will not allow that phrase to pass, see p. 661), by reawakening in them the triple sense of domestic virtue, of patriotism, and of religion. M. Hartman adopts the formula and gives it a somewhat concrete application; it becomes a nucleus about which the scanty records of Plutarch's life take form and substance, and the works fall into a reasonable order. The definition is made to cover several vocations;

those of schoolmaster, tutor of resident pupils, family adviser and referee, and composer of manuals to meet special moral needs. Nor were these services gratuitous; we are to think of the young Boeotian as making his way among other Greeks who reached the capital, and were rewarded by the liberality of leading Romans, whether directly given, or by facilities for profitable publication, rather than as the amateur member of a wealthy family to whom professional gains were matter of indifference.

The sketch which is presented to us of Plutarch's career is stated with much conviction, somewhat as follows:

He was born at Chaeronea in A.D. 47, and, after spending parts of his youth at Athens and in general travel, reached Rome at the age of thirty, and stayed there till he was forty-five (A.D. 77-92), with the exception of a short return to his home about the year 80. Soon after his arrival he brought himself under the notice of leading Romans by lectures of a 'sophistical' type, of which the *De fortuna Romanorum* and the *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute* are specimens. When he returned to Chaeronea for good, he left behind him in Rome a school, or institution, of which his brother Timon remained as president. Timon's wife Aristylla (to be identified with the Arionylla of Pliny (*Ep.* I. 5) was the friend and correspondent of Plutarch's Timoxena. At Chaeronea Plutarch devoted himself to study, especially that of the Roman language and literature, and composition. He also undertook municipal duties, and became a priest of the temple at Delphi, probably as a successor to his close friend Theon, with whom he had co-operated in the work of restoration and endowment. It was no period of decadence, indeed provincial life was in its golden age under the emperors of the later first century. Plutarch had never heard of a bad emperor Tiberius or a bad emperor Domitian (p. 489 ff.). The few references to these emperors are enumerated, but one mention of Domitian (*Vit. Publicolae* c. 15), which shows little reverence for his memory, is not among them.

M. Hartman offers an interesting addition to our knowledge of Plutarch's family circle. We hear much of his grandfather, his two brothers, and his sons, but little of his father, who is not mentioned by name. We know that he was a sportsman, the owner of winning horses, with no taste for discussions on etymology, with a habit of offering the sacrifice at the family meal, and a preference for an orderly arrangement of places, and that on one occasion he gave his son a piece of shrewd advice worthy of a place in Bacon's *Georgic of the Mind* or Sir Henry Taylor's *Statesman*. We are now told that his name was Autobulus, which was borne by one of Plutarch's sons. An Autobulus is a speaker in the *Amatorius*, whom M. Hartman would like to identify with the son; at any rate it cannot be the father. An Autobulus takes part in the preliminary dialogue of the *De sollertia animalium*, and denounces, somewhat in the vein of Lucian, the Stoic doctrine that a sharp line is to be drawn between man and the other animals, and that man has no duties towards his fellow-creatures. This Autobulus speaks of himself as passionately fond of sport, and mentions a son who is a Platonist, and has found a new method of exposition. Why may not this Autobulus be the father, and Plutarch the son? Having raised the question, M. Hartman inserts the name in the family tree and challenges contradiction. A difficulty is that an Autobulus is associated with Soclarus, apparently a friend of Plutarch's own age, in both the dialogues named. If this Autobulus be really Plutarch's father, it is a pity that we have not more discourses by one who could argue so well.

Which pieces among the eighty-three may we leave out of account as spurious? M. Bernardakis has starred fifteen in his first six volumes. As to most of these Volkmann and M. Hartman agree. They agree in approving Wyttenbach's elaborate argument against the *De liberis educandis*, and agree in thinking his judgment of the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* much too favourable. M. Hartman will not hear of any doubts as to the *Septem sapientium convivium*, rejected by Volkmann,

and does not refer to the *obiter dictum* of Erasmus touching the *De sera numinis vindicta*. He would himself reject the *De Exsilio*, and perhaps the *De amore prolis*. He defends the *De vitando aere alieno* in a vigorous argument, and also the *De malignitate Herodoti*. He justifies Plutarch's apparent want of sympathy with the great historian, on the ground that contemporary writers were following his lead in decrying Boeotia, and that there is in Herodotus a 'levity' to which he himself finds a counterpart in Ovid.

The criteria may be thus stated:

1. The final test of spuriousness is the feeling of those long conversant with the author.

2. No external test, such as that of 'hiatus,' is of certain application. Plutarch has derided excessive scrupulousness in avoiding the concurrence of vowels, but he is usually careful to avoid it himself, and cases of neglect of the rule are mostly found in works which are otherwise under suspicion. But this cannot be erected into an absolute law, least of all as applied to 'collections' made for future use.

3. Any work of intrinsic merit comes from the writer under whose name it passes, since no one would have allowed such a work of his own to go abroad 'wanting a head.'

4. In almost all works ascribed to Plutarch there is much which is Plutarch's. This principle may be applied to the *Lives of the Orators*, or to the *Placita Philosophorum*, as to which important work our author has a word to say in rejoinder upon H. Diels.

An instance of the application of these principles will be found in the defence of the second treatise on the *De vita et poesi Homeri* (for the first so entitled is felt to be spurious). The author's learning (a favourite point of M. Hartman's) is shown by his correct appreciation of Homeric words, and by his quoting a line so as to give its true value to the digamma (which Aristarchus had failed to do). Then there is sound sense in his grasp of the plot of the *Iliad*. Altogether the work is too good to have been allowed to pass under any name but that of its real author. Volkmann's arguments on the other

side are considered *seriatim*. To that drawn from style M. Hartman, with his usual fairness, capitulates, so far as to agree to the modified verdict that the treatise is not Plutarch's in its *present form*, but contains matter which is *thoroughly Plutarchian*, provided that the significant words be duly stressed.

The order in which pieces are arranged is not wholly fortuitous. It may be due to Plutarch himself that we have the *De superstitione* following the *Convivium*, as a corrective to views about the miraculous. On the other hand, the *De amore prolis* finds a place after the *De fraterno amore* upon a hasty assumption that the contents were homogeneous. The three pieces, two long and a shorter one, against the Stoics balance a like set of three against the Epicureans. The three 'Delphic Dialogues' were written about the same time and form a series.

Lucianic character has been already noticed in the *De sollertia animalium*, and it is very striking in the little *Gryllus* which follows it.

The detached notes on points of text which follow the general introduction to each piece are a very valuable part of the volume. There is much difficulty in the manuscript text of the *Moralia*, which varies greatly in different pieces, and reaches its climax in the *De Iside et Osiride* and the *De facie*. Where the matter is outside the knowledge of the copyist he is content to leave a gap, or to write in some commonplace words. Wyttenbach has shown insight and good sense in seeing through the obscurity, and often recasts a sentence in the critical notes, embodying the result in his revised translation. M. Hartman starts with the Teubner text; he often complains that the editor might have shown greater boldness in placing in the text emendations which he mentions as suggested by Reiske or Wyttenbach, or by Emperius, who is spoken of as a Reiske come to life again, or by himself. M. Hartman's own corrections often take the form of an omission of words which clog or obscure the sense, or of a plausible transposition; but we must thank him at the outset for the admirable *σαίνοντος* for *θανόντος*, of the dog Argus (457 A), where there is a *vera*

causa for the copyist's blunder in his ignorance of Homer. Every note touches a real point, and all should receive the careful attention of any future editor. Whether any particular suggestion is to be adopted into the text must be settled by the conscience of the editor, in view of the ascertained habits of the copyist.

The late lamented Herbert Richards contributed to the *Classical Review* (Vols. XXVIII. and XXIX.) a series of critical notes, not nearly so numerous as those of M. Hartman to the *Moralia*, extending to 602 B. Vol. XXVIII. contains also a valuable paper by M. J. H. W. Strijd on the *De Pythiae oraculis*; and for the three Pythian Dialogues we are assisted by Mr. W. R. Paton's critical edition. It would be too much to expect a frequent consensus of these eminent scholars as to the passages treated or the mode of treatment; it would carry great weight wherever it existed. Richards speaks with approval of M. Hartman's very attractive *οποίός κα' ἦς* (for *καθίσης*) in 243 D, known to him through *Μνημοσύνη*. The point taken by himself on 397 B, and supported by a weighty argument, has not elicited a comment from the others.

If a few scattered passages may be mentioned where an editor might perhaps wisely leave well alone, it is done merely in the cause of an academic *ἐποχή*: it is a great help, in all cases, that the point should have been raised:

397 C: *καθόλου δ' εἰπεῖν, ὅμᾳς τοὺς τοῦ Ἐπικούρου προφήτας* (ἄλλος γὰρ εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποφερόμενος) οὐκ ἔστι διαφυγεῖν.

M. Hartman writes: 'sensu cassa haec: insere *ἐκείσε* post *αὐτός*, aptissimam habetis hanc sententiam: apparet te quoque ad illam delabi philosophiam.' M. Strijd would strike out *καὶ αὐτός* as inappropriate, and substitute *πρὸς αὐτούς*. Now Wyttenbach's *Index* renders *ὑποφέρεσθαι* by 'labascere in vitium,' with three instances from the *Moralia* (the first is 72 C), where the verb is used absolutely, and so elsewhere, e.g. in medical writers. Here it is surely more telling, and more in keeping with the character of Boethus, and with the tone of Theon's appeal to him, to say: 'They are all Epicureans now; why, you yourself are on the downward trend,' then to add the logical, but unneeded, 'towards the Epicureans.'

[In *Sympos.* V. 2 Boethus is 'the Epicurean' simply; from which M. Hartman elsewhere infers, quite fairly, a relatively late date for the *Symposiacs*.]

So above, 397 B: ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὦ Βόηθε, κἂν φαυλότερα τοῦ Ὁμήρου ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη, μὴ νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ πεποιημένα τὸν θεόν. Wytenbach would insert κἂν βελτίονα, Mr. Paton κομψότεραι, after φαυλότερα; the Teubner editor would prefer to read κἂν ἢ κἂν μὴ ἢ, M. Strijdom κἂν ἢ simply. M. Hartman remarks: 'Rectissime B. κἂν μὴ ἢ, non enim periculum est: ne mali sed ne egregii versus a deo facti videantur.' Is not Theon's tone of quiet irony best maintained if the text is left unchanged? Even if the verses are below the standard of Homer, it does not follow that the god is the *author* (of the worthless verses). The appeal to handwriting which follows is parallel.

555 D: καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο φαίη τις ἂν ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ὑπάρχειν κακόν. . . 'Dirum solocicismum removit Naberus ἐν pro ἂν legendo.' This appears to be a normal case of ἂν in the protasis, where the protasis is itself the apodosis of an incomplete hypothetical sentence, as in Plato *Prot.* 329 B. See Goodwin, *M. and T.* s. 506.

575 E: ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ Λῶσιν τὸν ἱερὸν σπουδάζοντες οὕτω διεφάνημεν. So the Teubner editor from an admirable emendation of C. F. Hermann, for which he gives no reference (it does not appear to be in that scholar's collected papers). M. Hartman finds the intended meaning obscure; is it not, like παρὰ Σωκράτη τὸν ἡμέτερον above, 'on account of Lysis'? The *Thesaurus* recognises παρὰ as equivalent to διὰ, and the *Lexicon* of Bonitz has many Aristotelian instances. An English vulgarism, 'I have had trouble enough along of you,' suggests a parallel. M. Hartman says above that Archidamus was a Spartan, but Capheisias is speaking at Athens and to an audience mainly Athenian.

579 C: Plato had said that δεῦν μέσων ἀνάλογον λήψιν was a task for a highly trained geometrician. This appears to be regular Greek for 'the finding of two mean proportionals' between two terms, here 1 and 2 (1 : a :: a : b :: b : 2); cf. 718 F and the *Vita Marcelli*, c. 14.

563 D: Aridaeus asks εἰ βέλτιον βιώσεται τὸν ἐπιλοκίον βίον. The answer is ὅτι πράξει βέλτιον ὅταν ἀποθάνῃ. Certainly the verbs had better change places. But a delicate question arises. Is it the copyist who intermixed them, or is it Plutarch himself, and, if so, may we, without impertinence, correct him under cover of correcting his copyist? Again, in 813 E, καὶ βλέπειν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγίου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα. Kaltwasser emends ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πρὸς τὸ στρατήγιον, which must be what Plutarch meant to write. But did he write it?

M. Hartman is always careful in his acknowledgments, and will wish it to be pointed out that his excellent suggestion of σκίαμαχοι in 741 C is to be found (αἱ τοιαῦτα σκιαμαχίαι) in Wytenbach's note.

Turning from Plutarch the writer to Plutarch the philosopher, we have seen that he deals equal measure to the

Stoics and the Epicureans, but he deals it with a difference. He has little fault to find with the Stoic tenets, unless e.g. where he, as an animal-lover, finds them hard and repulsive, but he cannot abide the Stoics. He hates the Epicurean system, its denial of a Providence, and the rank hedonism associated with it, but he likes many Epicureans, and is aware that they have brought grace and cheerfulness into life. He was himself an Academic, of the pattern which was at once the oldest and the newest, that of Plato himself as revived by Antiochus of Ascalon (*Vita Luculli* c. 42). He was himself recognised as the highest living authority on Plato, whose works he knew so well that he could venture a negative statement, with a wealth of positive knowledge behind it: 'Plato has nowhere written that God geometrises' (718 C *sup.* 389). More than this, his aim is to be the Plato of his own day. In one instance he has overdone his part by introducing a Platonic myth into the *De sera numinis vindicta*. This is true criticism; the reader does not, as he reads, see the details described, and the myth lacks the noble severity of that in the *Gorgias*. It might perhaps be fairer to Plutarch to look to the ingenious and interesting myth in the *De facie* or to that in the *De genio Socratis*. In all his philosophy Plutarch looked first to edification; on the subject of the Antipodes he may have exercised a curious economy, not wholly disbelieving, but afraid of the possible shock to people of weak nerves (p. 560).

Φιλοσοφίας τέλος θεολογία. The words are spoken by Cleombrotus the Lacedaemonian (410 A), a man of ample means and an enquiring spirit, and may be taken as coming from Plutarch himself. In a kindred phrase, borrowed from Menander, Philosophy is the 'Mystagogue of Life,' who stands by a man at his Initiation (765 A). This mystagogue assisted Plutarch in the grim details of the *De Iside et Osiride*, hard writing, as is truly remarked, and hard reading. The term is admirably developed in the eighth and following chapters of Mr. John Oakesmith's, *The Religion of Plutarch*. That religion

nowhere finds finer expression than in the fragment *De anima*, preserved by Stobaeus under the name of Themistius, but rescued for Plutarch by Wytténbach. It bears a close relation to the *De sera numinis vindicta*, the speakers being the same. 'In a beautiful passage,' writes Mr. Oakesmith (p. 118) 'Timon compares death to initiation into the Great Mysteries—an initiation in which gloom and weariness and perplexity and terror are followed by the shining of a wondrous light, which beams on lovely meadows, whose atmosphere resounds with sacred voices, that tell us all the secret of the mystery, and whose paths are trod by pure and holy men. Timon concludes with Heraclitus that, if the soul became assuredly convinced of the fate awaiting it hereafter, no power would be able to restrain it on earth.'

'Si usquam,' writes M. Hartman (p. 685), 'hic ipsum Plutarchum agnoscimus, illius Ammonii discipulum qui litterae E Delphicae praeclaram illam, ne Christianis quidem indignandam, dederit explicationem.' He refers to the glowing confession of the unity and permanence of God, specifically of the Apollo of Delphi, in contrast with the ephemeral condition of man (p. 392 A). He finds a parallel in history for this fine outburst. He never reads it, he tells us (p. 167), without recalling an incident at the Conference of Poissy, 1561. There the representative Reformers, headed by Th. Beza, met their opponents in the presence of the Queen-Mother and the Court. When admitted, before entering upon points of doctrine and discipline, they fell on their knees and recited a confession of profound humility, in a form already brought into use at Geneva by Calvin. How far the spirit of the two confessions agrees theologians will decide; the comparison is a striking one. The incident is recorded by Beza himself in the first Volume of his History.

In connexion with this fragment, two interesting points are raised, as to which we must ask a serious question. M. Hartman quotes the lines of Lucretius (III. 31-58), in which the poet refers not only the general enfeeblement of human life and the lowering of motives,

but also specific crimes, to the fear of death. Sellar mentions this as a difficulty (*Roman Poets of the Republic*, c. XIII.), and appears to give it up. As Thucydides, in his account of the plague at Athens, ascribes both neglect of duties and also positive misdoings to the fear of imminent death, is it possible that, if the end of the poem had reached us in a complete form, some clue would have been given? However that may be, is there really anything in this fragment to suggest the same train of thought? And again, does the thought of a self-sought death underlie the words quoted from Heraclitus, or those of Plutarch? The fragment is short and readily accessible, and the two questions may be left to readers.

M. Hartman is clear (see p. 114) that Plutarch was wholly uninfluenced by Christian thought. Nor does he suggest, if we may venture a negative statement about so intricate a volume, that he gave any lead in the direction of Neoplatonism.

We have in this volume an invaluable guide to all the works of the 'Mentium Medicus.' M. Hartman's own preference is with those which convey a direct moral, with the *Non posse* and its attractive picture of the life of simple duty, the *De vitando aere alieno* and its warning to a small municipality against overborrowing, with the *De tranquillitate animi* and the *De garrulitate*; and it is just on these that the reader needs the helping hand of an enthusiast. We are grateful to M. Lévêque for the key phrase, and to M. Hartman for its development. It may not touch every side of the mental activity of this 'Boeotian Squire,' as Dr. C. Bigg has called him, but it will help us to become familiar with his love of the Greeks, his admiration of the Romans, and his charitableness to all, with his enlightened views about women, his delight in animals, the cheerfulness of his religion, his recoil from pretence and unreality, and his occasional and amiable inaccuracy.

A short list of Errata is appended, but even a superficial reading shows that this must be multiplied many times. Most of the errors are trivial, and only affect the eye, though when 'qui' is

printed for 'quin' (p. 389, l. 15) or 'minor' for 'miror' (p. 658, last line) the mind receives a slight check. In p. 502, l. 10 from bottom, we should surely read 'locus.' Personal names are several times interchanged. In p. 505, l. 4, Herodotus, and in p. 657, l. 19, Homer, seem to have ousted Plutarch himself. The name Autobulus is several times replaced by Aristobulus, and once (p. 458, l. 5) by Autolycus. These are small matters, but so excellent a book will no doubt be soon called for again, perhaps in a time of less stress than the present, and an experienced

press-reader could set them right in a day. He would call attention to a point of prosody on p. 285, l. 7 from bottom. The punctuation and numeral references are correct and careful throughout; of the latter perhaps the only misleading instance is in the list of Errata itself, its first item should run 'p. 15, l. 6.'

The tables and indices appended are very useful so far as they go; a fuller index, especially of persons as 'Boethus,' but also of subjects as 'Antipodes' or 'suicidium,' would be of great assistance.

A. O. PRICKARD.

OBST'S DER FELDZUG DES XERXES.

Der Feldzug des Xerxes. Von E. OBST.
Klio. Zwölftes Beiheft. 1913.

A SURVEY of the whole evidence for the Persian War in the light of modern criticism would certainly be welcome. It is now sixteen years since Dr. Grundy's book appeared, and much has been done in the interval. Hence Obst's book seemed likely to be useful, although some of his previous contributions to Herodotean criticism (as to the account of the hippopotamus in *Klio* XIV., and as to the Scythian Bridge) were the reverse of happy.

He has certainly studied the works of his predecessors, and has paid well-deserved respect to the contributions of English scholars (with one important exception to be mentioned later); not only Dr. Grundy and Dr. Macan's big books, but Mr. Munro's articles in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are constantly quoted.

But it must be said at once that his work is most disappointing, and that from his 218 large pages, it is only here and there that any thing of value can be gained. As specimens of new points may be mentioned an ingenious conjecture as to the Aeginetan contingent (Hdt. VIII. 46, pp. 70, 71) and the suggestion as to Sciathus, p. 96.

It would be unfair to expect of him any contribution to History in the wide sense; his aim is 'Quellenforschung.'

But it may be remarked that his historical insight into a situation can be gauged from his remark about the pathetic story of Thersander (Hdt. IX. 16), 'Der heulende Reiser ist eine gar zu komische Figur' (p. 180), and his power of gauging probability from the fact that he believes that Xerxes' project of a mole from the mainland to Salamis was a serious operation (pp. 15, 154).

His treatise must be judged, however, as a criticism of our evidence in detail, and especially of that of Herodotus. It may be said at once that his arrangement is very unfortunate. He begins with a sketch of the whole campaign (twenty-four pages), which in some places can only be understood by a reference to the later sections (this at least was my own experience), and follows this with ten pages of 'Quellenabriss.' All the points in these thirty-four pages, *i.e.* nearly a sixth of the whole book, might either have been taken for granted, or worked in later—as in fact many of them are.

Even as a criticism of the evidence Herr Obst's book is very unsatisfactory. His two main aims seem to be to show how much Herodotus is indebted to a supposed 'schriftliche Vorlage,' and to vindicate the value of the later authorities—*e.g.* of Diodorus, Plutarch, and even Ctesias—against Herodotus.

With regard to the first point (for the 'Vorlage' we may refer to pp. 58-60,

134), he has of course been anticipated by others, e.g. by E. Meyer (*Forsch.* II. 23-2). Special importance is attached by Obst to it for the section dealing with Xerxes' march (Hdt. VII. 26-132). But elsewhere he continually refers to 'Vorlagen,' which were common to Herodotus and to Ephorus (e.g. p. 55 as to the march to Tempe). He never attempts, however, to deal with the real difficulty as to these suggestions. What were these 'Vorlagen,' which survived so long, to which Herodotus owed his excellence, and to which his additions are 'worthless'? A passage on p. 98 may be quoted as typical of Obst's method: 'The clearness of the geographical information and the description of the weather and the storm is excellent, so that the whole chapter may be assigned to the "Vorlage"; in VII. 189-191 the worthless tradition begins again.'

It is difficult to believe in excellent written authorities which survived to the next century, and which yet have left no trace in Greek literary history. Herodotus's many ancient critics would surely have told us something as to these authentic sources if they had existed.

With regard to the second point, Obst carries to an extreme the modern tendency to exaggerate the value of secondary sources. Grote's history might have been thought to settle once for all the question between the 'good cloth' of Herodotus and the 'transparent gauze' of Diodorus and Plutarch (to quote the phrases of Jowett); but the methods of 'Quellenforschung,' while they lead to mutually contradictory results, are supposed to have upset Grote's common-sense methods. One instance only of Obst's preference for later authorities can be quoted: Herodotus's account of the battle of Mycale is dismissed as 'ein leeres, athenisches Phantasie-gebilde' (p. 216), while that of Diodorus is accepted; and yet, as he himself says on the same page, that account (XI. 36) is made up of two hopelessly contradictory stories. To put it frankly, criticism on these lines is equally arbitrary and absurd.

Another less prominent feature of Obst's work is his fondness for cut-

ting out whole passages that seem to him improbable. The luxury of the Persian army train (Hdt. VII. 83) is made to be a mere invention of Herodotus, because it would 'hinder' and not 'facilitate mobility.' It would do such critics of Herodotus good to study the accounts of Oriental armies in the field which have been given by Englishmen who have seen and conquered them. But has a German professor ever been known to quote this kind of authority? Still more bold is the excision of the whole story of the first mission of Sicinnus (pp. 140-1), and what is the most reckless of all, the denial of the encircling movement of the Persian fleet outside Salamis (pp. 150-1). This second fact, which is related by two contemporary authorities and which is denied by none, must have rested on the evidence of hundreds of eye-witnesses. Yet it has to go because it will not square with Obst's theory of the Persian numbers.

But such arbitrary methods of criticism are believed in by many; it is old-fashioned to question their value. It remains then to give evidence that Obst does not practise his own methods well. In the first place he does not show an adequate knowledge of his authorities; two instances may be given, one ancient, one modern. The former is as to the Persian-Carthaginian alliance (pp. 40-1); he accepts it as a fact, but he never even refers to the evidence of Aristotle against it. The latter is as to the site of the Battle of Salamis; he accepts the old view that it was fought actually in the Bay, but has never heard apparently of Goodwin's paper in the *Journal of the American School of Athens*, which proved almost conclusively that the old view was impossible. It certainly does not inspire a student with confidence in Obst's knowledge of his authorities, when he is found quoting the inscription on the Corinthian dead at Salamis from Bury! In the second place his quotations always need verification; they are often incomplete or inaccurate. He quotes Grundy (p. 151) as saying that the Egyptian squadron at Salamis was too far off to take part in the fight; but he omits the other part of Grundy's statement, that the

squadron completely barred the Greek retreat. He quotes E. Meyer as refuting the statement that the Athenians 'were very unpleasantly surprised' that the Peloponnesians did not after Thermopylae meet Xerxes in Boeotia (p. 135); but what Meyer refutes is the idea that such strategy was wise or possible (*G. des A.* III. p. 384). He charges Herodotus with inconsistency in IX. cc. 99 and 107, because, having said the Milesians were posted on the heights at the time of Mycale, he yet allows the Persians to escape over those heights; but Herodotus in the later chapter expressly says that only 'a few' escaped (ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν), which is exactly what his own narrative would lead us to expect.

The above may serve as specimens of omission. The following examples of inaccuracy may be given. Obst says that Hydarnes was 'Feldherr,' but not 'Befehlshaber' (presumably he means στρατηγός and ἄρχων); but though the usual words for Hydarnes are στρατηγός and στρατηγέω, yet ἄρχω is used of his command in VII. 211. 1. And Obst is absolutely without authority for making him 'commander of the Asiatic coast peoples before the campaign.' This is not only never stated, but is in itself

improbable. (These mistakes are made in an attempt to discredit what is probably the best method for estimating the numbers of Xerxes' army, viz. the ingenious suggestion of Dr. Macan and Mr. Munro that it consisted of thirty corps of 10,000 each.)

Again on p. 89, Hdt. VII. 40, 41, are quoted to prove that the whole cavalry of Xerxes 'at most numbered 12,000'; but Herodotus expressly says these 12,000 were all 'Persians,' pointedly implying there were other contingents.

On p. 139 Herodotus is not only misquoted but mistranslated. 'The Greeks at Salamis "waren nicht in sorgst um sich, sondern sorgten sich um den Peloponnes"' is given as a rendering of VIII. 74 οὐχ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὥς περὶ τῇ Π.; the omission of οὕτω ὥς completely alters the sense.

The subject of the Persian Wars is one of perennial interest. It seemed worth while therefore to show in some detail the failure of this recent attempt to rewrite the history of them. The up-to-date summary which will combine respect for evidence and rational criticism has yet to be written.

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PATRISTIC AND BIBLICAL TRANSLATIONS.

- (1) *The Treatise of Irenaeus of Lugdunum against the Heresies.* A translation of the principal passages, with notes and arguments, by F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK, M.A., D.D. (2) *Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of St. Macrina.* Translated by W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE, B.D. (3) *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira.* Translated by W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. (1) Two vols.; (2) one vol.; (3) one vol. Pp. (1) 146, vol. ii. 151; (2) 79; (3) 148. London: S.P.C.K., 1916. (1) 2s. net per vol.; (2) 1s. net; (3) 2s. 6d. net.

DR. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK'S two volumes are meant to serve, together with his previous work on *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, as an introduction to the study of Irenaeus. They consist of

extracts from the treatise *Against the Heresies*, linked up in many places by short summaries of the intervening passages. A general idea is thus given in brief compass of the whole treatise, and many readers will doubtless find these volumes useful, in spite of their necessarily scrappy character. As a work of scholarship, however, they are not satisfactory. The translation is free, at times to the point of being loose. Words, clauses, and even considerable sections of the original, are omitted without warning, so that what is left is often no more than a paraphrase. There are literally scores of inaccurate references to Irenaeus, the figures being usually not more than one or two out, though far enough to waste a great deal of the reader's time if he attempts to compare text and transla-

tion. Many notes are given, some of them valuable, but not a few so obscurely written as to be very hard to understand (e.g. ii. 17, n. 1; ii. 39, n. 1; ii. 58, n. 2 and n. 4, where 1 Kings should be 1 Samuel for English readers, and *calceamentum* is wrongly spelt with an *i*; ii. 80, n. 1; ii. 98, n. 4; ii. 120, n. 1). Other notes are spoilt by wrong or missing references (e.g. i. 70, n. 1; i. 81, n. 1; i. 86, n. 1, where Iren. iv. 34 should be iv. 20; i. 117, n. 2, where *Adv. Marc.* ii. 17 should be ii. 17; i. 123, n. 1, where Iren. ii. 13, 5 should be iii. 11, 5; i. 125, n. 2; i. 126, n. 1, where Judges v. 29 should be v. 9; i. 138, n. 1, where Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 147 should be 145; ii. 132, n. 1, where the reference should be to Ignatius *ad Rom.* iv., as shown by Eus. *H.E.* iii. 36). In the translation also there are inaccurate references, even to the Scriptures (e.g. i. 70, Mark xiii. 13, for 32; i. 113, 1 Cor. v. 11 for xv. 11; i. 114, Acts xvi. 3 f. for 10 f.; ii. 12, where for English readers Dan. xiv. should be Bel and the Dragon i.). In i. 57, 'who ignore God' (*ignorantibus Deum*) should be 'who are ignorant of God,' as the same phrase is translated on the previous page; i. 71, 'dissolved in matter' (*corpora in materiam resoluta*) should be 'resolved into matter'; in i. 78 and ii. 44, 'conversed with' or 'held converse with' for *conversatus cum* . . . (which renders the Greek *συναναστρέφεισθαι*, and means 'dwell among'), gives a wrong impression, if not a positively wrong meaning, in English; in the quotation from Plato (*Laws* iv. pp. 715e-716a) in i. 146 the phrase *et Deus quidem, quemadmodum et vetus sermo est*, stands for *ὁ μὲν δὲ Θεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος*, and should be rendered 'God, as the ancient saying has it,' not 'God, as He is the ancient Word.' The Latin translator, to whom we owe most of our text of Irenaeus, may have misunderstood the phrase, but a glance at Justin Martyr, *Cohor. ad Graec.* xxv. (where the 'ancient saying' is said to mean the law of Moses), shows that the Christian Fathers interpreted it rightly. In ii. 45-6 *percipiunt* does not mean 'perceive,' but 'partake of,' a fact which the Greek (*μετέχουσιν*), extant in this passage, makes clear.

'Rhine' is given for 'Rhone' in i. 33; 'Lord of God' for 'Lord of all' in i. 109; 'the Son of God' in i. 133 should be 'a son of God,' as the Greek shows; and in ii. 83, 'How can one be God? . . .' should be 'a god'; instead of 'given,' in i. 136, read 'forgiven'; in ii. 95 'Almighty' is too strong for *δυνατός*, which would be better represented by 'mighty' or 'powerful.' The foregoing examples, to which others could be added, are enough to show that for the serious study of Irenaeus these volumes will need to be used with caution.

The Life of St. Macrina was written by one of her brothers, Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, and is a touching tribute to an honoured sister. Her eldest brother was Basil the Great, Bishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, from 370 to 378 A.D. Under his guidance and inspiration Macrina established a monastery for women on the banks of the Iris in Pontus, while yet another brother, Peter, ruled over an adjoining monastery for men. Gregory visited his sister at this retreat just before her death, and the greater part of the *Life* is taken up with the details of this visit and of Macrina's death and burial. Mr. Lowther Clarke has translated the Greek, on the whole faithfully, into free and clear English. A few points of criticism may be mentioned. To say 'perfect in every department of virtue' (p. 32, for *τελεία τοῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀφασιν*) instead of 'every form of virtue,' or 'extend to an unconscionable length' (p. 46, for *πρὸς ἄπειρον ἐξετείνετο μήκος*) instead of 'an endless length,' is very like committing the fault of florid writing which the translator condemns in his author. 'Imperturbability' is hardly the equivalent of *τὸ ἀνένδοτον* (p. 32), 'indomitable spirit' would be better. On p. 38 we read, 'it was about this time that the mother died, honoured by all, and went to God,' which is not only a very lax rendering of *ἐν τούτῳ εἰς γῆρας λιπαρὸν προελθοῦσα ἢ μήτηρ, πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν μεταβίστατο*, but one which obscures the Homeric allusion in *γῆρας λιπαρόν*. On p. 53, 'in the hope of the Resurrection' seems to be a mistake for 'in the expectation of her departure (*lit.*

change), i.e. her death (ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῆς μεταστάσεως; cf. Milton, *Comus*, l. 10, 'after this mortal change.' 'Gulf' instead of 'chasm' for χάσμα, and 'spot' instead of 'defilement' for σπίλος (p. 56), would remind readers of the allusions to St. Luke xvi. 26 and Eph. v. 27.

The Wisdom of Ben-Sira, commonly called (from its title in the old Latin Bible) *Ecclesiasticus*, has come into special prominence of late years. Written originally in Hebrew, it had been known for many centuries only in the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions. In 1896 fragments of the Hebrew began to come to light, and by 1900 about three-quarters of the book in its original language was in the hands of scholars. There were some, however, who maintained that these discoveries were not the original Hebrew, but a retranslation depending ultimately upon the Greek. The problem thus arising as to the exact relationship between Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew, has proved an extraordinarily intricate one. It is now held to be certain that the new manuscripts give us a genuine Hebrew text, though at the same time they are in a far from pure condition, and the Greek and Syriac versions have preserved many true readings. Dr. Oesterley is an authority on this subject, and his translation of the Hebrew will be of great value to English readers who find their Revised Version largely obsolete.

A few instances will give some idea of the changes made by the Hebrew. In vii. 23, where we were formerly told to bow down the necks of children from their youth, we are now told to 'give them wives in their youth'; in ix. 13, the difficult phrase, 'walkest upon the battlements of a city,' becomes 'treadest among nets,' which agrees with the previous clause; in xxxviii. 21, 'forget it not' becomes the more appropriate 'remember him not'; in l. 3, 'in his days the cistern of waters was diminished' becomes 'in his days a reservoir was dug.' Where Dr. Oesterley depends solely upon the Greek, he challenges comparison with the Revised Version, not always to his advantage. In the prologue, ἰκανὴν ἔξιν περιποιησάμενος, 'having acquired sufficient familiarity' is less pleasing than the Revised Version, 'having gained great familiarity'; and συγγράφαι τι does not mean 'to take a part in writing something,' but simply 'to compose' (R.V. 'write'). The expression 'to be wrath' is possibly a misprint, though it occurs twice (xx. 2 and xxviii. 7); it is surely not English. The last clause of xx. 16, 'How oft—and how many they are—men laugh him to scorn,' is not sense (Gr. ποσάκις καὶ ὅσοι . . .). Read 'she' for 'he' in i. 15; 'say' for 'do' in xix. 14; 'hear' for 'bear' in xxix. 25; 'fear' for 'seek' in xxxiv. 14 (R.V. ver. 13).

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

THE NEW GREEK COMEDY.

The New Greek Comedy—κωμῳδία νέα.

By Professor Ph. E. LEGRAND.

Translated by James Loeb, A.B.

With an Introduction by John

Williams White, Ph.D., LL.D.

Heinemann, 1917. 15s. net.

THIS is an English abridgment of a French work, whose author himself reduced it to about one-third of its original bulk before committing it to the translator. In its present form it is mainly intended for 'general readers in America and England.' Of all Mr. Loeb's noble endeavours to popularise

the classics, this is by far the least fortunate. That the needs of the general reader have been taken into consideration at all, it is almost impossible to believe; no treatment could be more unsuitable. First and foremost such a book should be made interesting, and of these 530 pages almost every one is deadly dull. The chief reason is that, fragmentary as are the Greek remains, they are here chopped up beyond intelligibility. Even in the *véa*, bad as it was, the play's the thing, and an evening or two with the Loeb Terence or Plautus would teach anybody more

about it than this book would in a year. No single account of the plot of any play is given anywhere! Countless allusions and references appear, but extremely few quotations, and those sometimes left untranslated. What is given, and given *ad nauseam*, it is important for everyone to remark, because it represents a widely prevalent tendency in modern dramatic 'scholarship'—a tendency for which there is but one word, devastating. Here a classification of characters (where they naturally appear extremely characterless), there a categorising of adventures—where they all seem tame. Here a slice of realism, there a sample of psychology; in one place a chip from a situation, in another place a chunk of plot; now a bundle of soliloquies (or rather of references to them), and now a bale of moralisings, all admittedly commonplace. Even the jokes are solemnly catalogued, and if the chapter on the Comic element is boring to tears, that on the Pathetic is not even amusing. Nor does the writer make any real use of most of these classifyings. Generalisations, indeed, he draws in plenty; but with a very few exceptions these are all either so obvious that they might be said of any branch of literary activity, or so wide that they become meaningless.

But that is not the worst. For my own part, if asked by an intelligent non-classic to explain in two words the place of the *vêa* in ancient Greek dramatic literature, I should say that it was the voluminous decadence, and remind him of the similar phenomenon in our own history; or in two sentences, I should add to this that while many superficial characteristics remained more or less the same, generally speaking all the poetry had gone out of the verse, and all the imagination from the matter. Incredible as it may seem, throughout the whole of this book neither of these last statements or anything corresponding to them is ever made, nor is any general impression of this kind once conveyed. Not that Professor Legrand can praise New Comedy; when he tries, his instances confute him, he is disobeyed by the very ass he rides; but to do him justice, he tries but seldom, and frankly admits, even to

diffuseness, that to a great extent it was a wretched business. His real crime is this—that over and over again, after making that admission, he apologises for the *vêa* in a way which implies that the fifth-century dramatists were just as incompetent.¹ For the general reader such passages are of course pernicious in the extreme. Lest it be supposed that this implication is involuntary, and more the writer's misfortune than his fault, let me explain that he supports it sometimes by sheer contradiction of fact, at other times by fallacious reasoning. One frequent defect of these playwrights was their slowness in 'exposition'; he tells us that they got this from Sophocles. Every school-boy knows that Sophocles is the last dramatist of whom such a criticism can sanely be suggested; and every student of drama *ought* to know what Lewis Campbell wrote about O.T. I—150. Now for his other method. We are assured (p. 454) that

'Taken as a whole, the *vêa* was not irreligious; it did not spread ungodliness,'

and that its irreverences, of which instances are given, are

'quite harmless and quite discreet when compared with the outrageous parodies and the biting ridicule with which the stage of the fifth and fourth century had riddled the dwellers in Olympus.'

The real point is of course that those had been spirited and these are *vulgar*; that is where the degeneracy comes in; that is what constitutes the demoralising influence. Again, he admits that narrative monologue was often employed with the barest and most slovenly disregard for probability, but excuses this on the ground that the speeches of the Tragic *ἄγγελοι* overstep the bounds of probability quite as much. Even if they did, who that has common sense, whether or not he has read anything of the *Poetics*, but knows that the criterion of probability cannot be applied similarly to heroic and realistic drama, and that in any case it is not, by a long way, the main criterion? On technique, his conclusion is characteristic:

'The analysis I have made shows that the technique used by writers of New Comedy was

¹ Occasionally that they were worse! See p. 492, first eight lines.

not very strict or always satisfactory from the point of view of modern taste.'

[It really shows that it was very poor.]

'In more than one respect they went on repeating the defects of tragedy and of earlier comedy.'

Well —! And not one of these instances but could be paralleled several times over.

This habit of assessing drama by its mere externals, and of applying mechanical and superficial tests, is much in vogue at present, and especially in America. It has never yet been 'dropped on'; hence its deplorable increase. Professor Legrand's book reveals the same naïve and infantile obliviousness of any particular distinction between good literature and bad, which characterised, for example, Professor Brander Matthews' *Study of the Drama*. The only distinction is that Professor Legrand's indifference is the more good-humoured. One of his chapters is entitled 'Didactic Purpose and Moral Value of New Comedy,' and with the utmost equanimity he pursues these subjects through twenty-four large pages, although the upshot is that both are nil. Has he never heard the story

of the chapter about 'Snakes in Iceland'?

The fact is that for the general reader the New Comedy is not worth a whole book. It is only significant as a part of the history of drama, where it would appear as a short study of degeneration and a warning to the dramatists of posterity. When a real scholar sets out to write us such a book, let it be acknowledged that he may find Professor Legrand's laborious compilation not without its uses as a work of reference. Often it may give him scent he might otherwise have difficulty in finding. On several points of minor importance its conclusions are original and seem sound. It is generally helpful, and occasionally even acute, in arguments for or against the Greek parentage of passages in Terence or in Plautus; that is in fact its main value. There is a very good Introduction by the late Professor John Williams White, which has just the 'general' appeal so conspicuously absent in all else.

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T. W. ALLEN'S ODYSSEY.

Homeri Opera recognovit T. W. ALLEN. Tom. iii. *Odyssea* I-XII. Editio altera. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1917. Cloth 3s.

MR. ALLEN makes amends for his shortcomings as a critic by his unquestionable merits as a collator of MSS. In this field, as I have always been the first to acknowledge, he has with chalcenic industry rendered most conspicuous service. He has continued the work on which I congratulated him so heartily in the *Clas. Rev.*, March, 1909. I then mentioned with commendation the grouping of the MSS. into families indicated by small letters. There were twenty-four of these groups, and they have now become twenty-five. The new one *s* consists of the *Matriensis* which he has now been able to examine and classify, *R11* a reconsidered placing, and the *Monacensis*

m. 2 taken out of *d*. Another addition to his long list is a MS. belonging to the Earl of Leicester, and latinised uncouthly as *Holkhamius*.

The compendious value of these 'familiae' is unquestionable, but there is also a serious drawback involved in their use. Family resemblance cannot mean exact identity. In each group there is necessarily, if I may use Ovid's words,

facies non omnibus una

Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.

So it may happen that in a group named as supporting a particular variant there are but few MSS. actually showing the reading: its support may be in the main sporadic and outside the group limit, less in fact in the group than elsewhere.

To take a concrete instance *ι* 360, the consensus of MSS. is in favour of

ὡς ἔφατ'· αὐτὰρ οἱ αὖτις ἐγὼ πρόποσ' αἰθῶρα οἶνον,

which I take to be right and of high importance, because it presents the only known instance of the preservation of an elided *οἱ* in the tradition, a preservation due, of course, to the mistaken idea that it was not elided at all but formed a dactyl with *αὐτάρ*. Our texts generally give either

ὥς φάτ'· ἀτάρ οἱ αὖτις ἐγὼ πόρον
(Ameis-Hentze, Merry)

or

ὥς ἔφατ'· ἀτάρ οἱ αὖτις πόρον
(Ludwich, Allen).

Neither will scan and the second is as melodious as a creaking gate. Bentley alone suggested a metrical but rather violent remedy, ὥς φάτ'· ἀτάρ οἱ ἐγὼν αὖτις. Monro in the Oxford Homer has the true *ad plenum* reading which Professor A. Platt first printed in his text with the digamma and the elision, adopting it from a self-neglected suggestion of van Leeuwen. The omission of ἐγὼ seems to have started from an *obiter dictum* of Hermann's 'sed delendum videtur ἐγὼ', *Orph.* 779. Ludwich found it omitted once after a correction in *Flor.* 52 by the second hand: but Mr. Allen gives us this: 'αὖτις πόρον *d. g. j. p.*: αὖτις ἐγὼ vulg. em. Bentley.' Now family *d* contains 14 MSS., *g* contains 12, *j* 6 and *p* 6, a total of 38 MSS. Are we to believe that ἐγὼ is omitted in 38 MSS.? Or are we misled by this new family arrangement?

Mr. Allen says in his Preface: 'genitivos in *oo* desinentes quod respuimus nonnulli admirati sunt.' It seems to me hardly credible that anyone has expressed surprise at these genitives not being printed in the text. In 1909 I expressed surprise, not at their exclusion—why should I or why should anyone?—but at Mr. Allen's attempt to justify Αἰόλου, etc., on the untenable plea, akin to a 'legal fiction,' of metrical license or as he calls it in mongrel phrase *ἄδεια metrica*. He is still where he was in 1909, though he has changed the previous form of statement. He now rather grandiloquently

issues this challenge to the world at large: 'quis spondet ipsum Homerum jam eis (genetivis) usum esse neque potius ἄδεια quadam epica Αἰόλου κλυτά ita ut in codicibus iegimus scripsisse?'

Well, as I intimated on the previous occasion, there is the late Sir R. Jebb for one, Dr. Monro for another, Dr. Leaf (see the notes on the passages in the *Iliad*), Professor Platt most certainly, and indeed every one who has considered the facts of the case. There is even a very good MS. Palatinus 45a which reads *oo* in *α* 70 as his own critical note tells us. He adds an audacious *temere* and *corr. m. altera*, but cannot thus upset the evidence of the MS. I am really afraid that in this large appeal to metrical licence Mr. Allen is likely to stand a solitary figure in a densely caliginous halo of glory.

There is a curious statement on p. vi of the preface that *προφανεῖσας* exhibits to us a primitive form ('sermonis velut faciem antiquiorem'). Is it not rather a common and late Dorism introduced to get the original feminine dual form *προφανέντε* out of sight? Who can entertain a doubt?

'Αποέργαθεν is preferred to ὑπέεργαθεν, because our editor evidently believes that ἐέργαθεν is an augmented form which it certainly is not; neither is *συνέεργον*.

Though he has altered ἦρχε to ἄρχε in *ε* 237 ex analogia, for all the MSS. are against the change, Mr. Allen still thinks he has sternly resisted 'analogy' ('analogia vero ut flecteretur non mihi permisi'), because he has retained ἦρει, ἦτει, ᾤκει, ἦνδα, ἦνδανε, ᾠρσε, ᾠρτο, of which list three ἦρει, ᾤκει, ἦνδανε are unquestionably illegitimate and unepic. Oddly enough ἄνδανε still appears in *γ* 150 with this critical note, 'ἦνδανε codd.' So also besides ᾤκει we get οἴκεον (*ι* 400). Evidently the editor is against consistency and analogy alike. Perhaps he thinks they are one and the same. They are not quite.

T. L. AGAR.

THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

The Greek Anthology. With an English Translation by W. R. PATON. In five volumes: Vol. III. The Loeb Classical Library, No. 84. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917. 5s.

THIS volume contains Book IX. of the *Greek Anthology*, and brings the end of Mr. Paton's edition in sight. But we may hope that, when he has finished it, he will give us more results of his studies; for one gets from these volumes an impression of knowledge in reserve, and of matured judgment based upon it, and this edition does not give him a wide enough scope. For instance, a comparison of the Planudean text and of that given by Suidas with the Palatine would be useful. We should also like a chapter on the history of the Epigram, much as Reitzenstein has given in the article 'Epigramm' in Pauly-Wissowa, and especially a discrimination between the original and the imitative writers. Having expressed this hope, I will now, as in the notices of Mr. Paton's previous volumes, *Class. Rev.* XXXI. 142; XXXII. 33, turn to the text of some passages. But first let me correct the name of the Italian scholar in *Class. Rev.* XXXII. 33: it should be Cessi.

In IX. 144, 4 Jacob's *μειδιάει* for *δειμαίνει* is probably right, and in 314, 4, Schaefer's *ὑποπροχέει* seems the best correction of *ὑποιαχει*: *ψυχρὸν* without *ὕδωρ* is found in Hdt. II. 37, Theog. 263.

563, 6 Mr. Paton conjectures *ἀβλή- του*, but Geffcken's *ἄκρητον* is attractive. 744, 2 Geffcken's *πὰρ λοφιῶν* is a likely correction of the corrupt *παρολκίδαν*. 300, 3 *ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὠρμήθη πρηῶν ἄτε*, of a bull, hardly means 'like a mountain,' but rather, as Reiske explains, 'instar rupis avolsae.' 316, 6 Mr. Paton's conjecture *ξυνᾶ* is worth considering; and 340, 6 his conjecture *ἐδερειν* may help towards the final restoration of a corrupt passage. 159, 6 one is glad that he leaves *εἰς Ἀἶδην ἐκολάζετο* untouched.

The future editor of the *Anthology*

will have to include the Epigrams which have been discovered of late years, and it may be convenient here to enumerate and classify the recent additions from Papyri and other sources. It will be noticed that most of them are new, and belong to a good period, early or middle Ptolemaic, and are written in a classical style. I have given references to the articles in which they are discussed.

List of Addenda to the 'Greek Anthology.'

1. New writers:

1. Amyntas. Two Epigrams nearly complete: *Oxyrh. Pap.* IV. No. 662, probably of Augustus' time. Grenfell and Hunt place him in the second century B.C., for the first Epigram deals with the same person as a poem by Leonidas of Tarentum, *A.P.* VII. 163, and one by Antipater or Archias, *A.P.* VII. 164; and the second refers to the capture of Sparta by Philopoemen in 188. In the seventh line of the second Epigram *παρ' Εὐρώας* may be the reading; so also Wilamowitz.

2. Poseidippus of Thebes, an elegy of twenty-six lines nearly complete, but with debased forms; on a wax tablet in Berlin: R. Ellis in *American Journal of Philology*, XXI. 76; H. Diels in *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad.* 1898, LIV. p. 1; Crönert in *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* I. 517. First century A.D.

2. New poems by existing writers:

1. Poseidippus, the Alexandrine Epigrammatist. H. Weil, *Un Papyrus inédit de la Bibliothèque d. M. Ambroise Firmin Didot*, 1879, p. 28, of the Ptolemaic age; Blass, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXV. 90; P. Schott, *Posidippi Epigrammata*, 1905. Two Epigrams complete; one on the Pharos, the other on a temple dedicated to Arsinoë-Aphrodite by Callicrates, the commander of Ptolemy Philadelphus' fleet.

2. Leonidas of Tarentum. Two Epigrams, fragmentary: *Oxyrh. Pap.* IV. No. 662; date as in I. 1.

3. Alcaeus of Mitylene (?). One Epigram, fragmentary, from a Florilegium of Epigrams: *Tebtunis Papyri* I. No. 3; of about 100 B.C.

4. Antipater of Sidon. One complete Epigram: *Oxyrh. Pap.* IV. No. 662; date as in I. 1.

5. Fragments of an Epigram perhaps by Meleager: *Berlin. klass. Texte*, V. 1, 75; Papyrus about first century A.D.

3. New anonymous poems:

1. An Epigram on Philikus or Philiskus of Corcyra, one of the Alexandrine 'Tragic Pleiad.' Körte in *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* V. 547 says: 'this poem of a contemporary makes the form *Φίλικος*, thrice used in *Hephaestion*, IX. 4, certain, instead of the usual *Φιλίσκος*.' The writing is of the

middle of the third century B.C., and therefore only a short time after Philikus, for he was a priest of Dionysus at Alexandria in the great festivities of 275/4. See Wilamowitz in *Neues von Kallimachus: Sitzb. Preuss. Akad.* 1912, 547.

2. Elegiac lines in *Berlin. klass. Texte*, V. 1, 77, to a dedicated statue: early Ptolemaic.

3. Ten elegiac lines complete, containing an address to *Συμπόται*, *Berlin. klass. Texte*, V. 2, 262. A Papyrus of the early third century B.C., resembling the Papyrus of Timotheus' *Persae*.

4. Epigram on Homer, from an ostrakon. Wilcken, *Ostraka*, No. 1148; *Berlin. klass. Texte*, V. 2, 62.

5. Epigram on the subject of the lame Spartan king Agesilaus from an ostrakon, published by Professor Grenfell (*Journ. Egypt. Arch.* 1918, p. 16). It is in a classical style, but with atrocious spelling, and was probably given to a class to be written out as an exercise.

6. Rhetorical school exercises, fragmentary, of the *τίνας ἂν εἶποι λόγους* type (cf. *A.P.* IX. 451 ff.). These were first published by Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick, in *Hermathena*, V. 237, and A. Ludwig reconstructed out of them lines which he called *Carminis Iliaci reliquiae*. He was quite wide of the mark; and the first to detect their nature and to reconstruct some with certainty was R. Reitzenstein, in *Hermes*, XXXV. 103. This type of exercise is of the Imperial period.

7. Six sepulchral Epigrams, poor, on one Euprepis; the papyrus is perhaps of the third century A.D. Vitelli, *Papiri Greci e Latini*, Vol. I. (1912), No. 17.

8. Epigram from a wax tablet in the British Museum, Egyptian Department, No. 29527. H. Diels, *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad.* 1898, LIV. 1. The writing is of the second or third century A.D.

9. Fragments of an Epigram by an author whose name ends in *ῖππος*: Poseidippus or Hermippus (Grenfell and Hunt). *Tebtunis Papyri* I. No. 3, l. 21; about 100 B.C.

10. Fragments of an Epigram by an author whose name ends in *ῖππος*: Asclepiades or Philiaades (Grenfell and Hunt). *Tebtunis Papyri* I. No. 3, l. 26; about 100 B.C.

11. Portions of eighteen lines from a Hellenistic poem celebrating the simple life of men in primitive times. Its mutilated condition is regrettable. *Oxyrh. Pap.* I. No. 14; H. Weil, *Revue des Études grecques*, 1898, p. 241; Wilamowitz in *Gött. gelehrte Ans.* 1898, p. 695. Papyrus probably of second century A.D.

4. Existing poems by existing authors:

1. Fragments of an Epigram by Leonidas of Tarentum, *Oxyrh. Pap.* IV. No. 662.

2. Two fragmentary Epigrams by Antipater of Sidon, one in *Oxyrh. Pap.* IV. No. 662, the other in *Tebtunis Pap.* I. No. 3.

3. Fragments of Meleager, *A.P.* V. 151, XII. 76, 77, 78, 106; *Berlin. klass. Texte*, V. 1, 75. See Körte, *Archiv*, V. 547.

5. Epigrams from Inscriptions. Since Cougny added Epigrams from this source to the Paris edition of the *Anthology*, some Epigrams of a good period from inscriptions may be added here; but my list is probably incomplete:

1. *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, XIX. 392. An Epigram of the third century B.C. found at Amphissa, probably referring to the invasion of the Gauls in 278. In the last line ἀρνιδ' ἀέρας should be read; P. Perdizet transliterates it as ἀρνίδα εἶπας.

2. *Bulletin de la Soc. Archaeol.* IV. 81; Wilamowitz in *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad.* 1902, XLIX.; Herwerden, *Lexicon Graec. Suppl.* s.v. πηγός. An Epigram of the third century B.C. Caunus, the station of the fleet under the Ptolemies, is referred to.

3. W. H. D. Rouse in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1906, p. 178; cf. W. Crönert in *Rhein. Mus.* 1910, 636. An Epigram of the close of the Hellenistic period found at Astypalaea.

This last class however is more fitted for a continuation of Kaibel's *Epigrammata a lapidibus collecta*, a piece of work which in 1913 was contemplated by Belgian scholars at Brussels. It is to be hoped that they survive and will carry out their intention. If there are any omissions in classes 1 to 5 above, I should be glad to be informed of them. I have not included Lyric addenda, since they do not properly belong to addenda to the *Anthology*.

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PLATONISM.

Platonism. By PAUL ELMER MORE. Octavo. Pp. 307. Princeton University Press, 1917. 7s. 6d. net.

As Mr. More explains in his Preface, this book does not—in spite of its title

—profess to cover the whole ground of Platonic doctrine; it deals mainly (in the writer's words) with 'the ethical theme that runs through all Plato's discussions, and is certainly the main-spring of his philosophy.' And behind

it there is a definitely practical aim. In an age when 'the dogmas of religion have lost their hold, while the current philosophy of the schools has become in large measure a quibbling of specialists on technical points of minor importance, or, where serious, too commonly has surrendered to that flattery of the instinctive elements of human nature which is the very negation of mental and moral discipline,' Mr. More would recall us to the truths which Plato expounded 'in the troubled and doubting days of Greece.' It is to be hoped that his presentation of unadulterated Platonism will achieve this admirable aim and prove in some measure 'a corrective of the disintegrating forces of society.'

To explain Plato we must go behind him to Socrates, and to Socrates the first chapters of the book are devoted. In his estimate of Socrates ('historic' or 'Platonic') Mr. More expressly dissents both from Gomperz and from Professor Burnet. 'To assert that a man could write the *Republic* without a definite philosophy of his own is to run pretty close to a pedantic absurdity, and it is not much better to maintain that there was no rationalism in the teaching of Socrates than that there was no mysticism in the teaching of Plato.' The Socratic doctrine, as Mr. More contends, comprised in one three veins of thought — intellectual scepticism, spiritual positivism, and the identification of virtue and knowledge. The unique combination in one mind of rationalism and mysticism is what constitutes 'the Socratic Paradox.'

According to Mr. More's exposition, the paradox of Socrates lies at the root of the dualism of Plato. In chapters on 'The Platonic Quest,' 'The Dualism of Plato,' and 'Psychology,' he endeavours to show how both 'knowledge' and 'virtue' are terms used in two senses, and how failure to distinguish between these senses has led to misapprehension of the true Platonic position. For behind the specific virtues there is a higher 'virtue,' which is the 'moral impulsion' called 'justice' in the *Republic* and 'wisdom' in the *Laws*; while above the 'knowledge' which Socrates identified with virtue stands the knowledge

which is independent of calculation, the immediate, intuitive *gnosis* 'by which we confirm our spiritual affirmation.' Other subjects dealt with in these chapters are the problems of free-will and of evil, and the Platonic distinction between pleasure and happiness. In his discussion of the doctrine of Ideas, Mr. More rejects the assumption of 'a radical break in Plato's doctrine,' and the theory of a later Platonism of 'natural kinds.' He would distinguish two quite different categories of Ideas, the rational and the ethical; of which the latter were, for Plato, the more fundamental and important. Thus 'the true Platonic ideas' are described as 'imaginative projections of the facts of moral consciousness.' In dealing with 'Science and Cosmogony,' it is contended (against some modern interpreters) that 'the whole argument (of the *Timaeus*) is founded on a radical dualism,' and that it is quite wrong 'to reduce the Platonic Ideas to mathematical entities.' Mr. More's penultimate chapter on 'Metaphysics' is mainly concerned with that baffling dialogue, *Parmenides*. Mr. Benn argued, in a recent book, that 'Plato uses the One and the Many . . . in order to cut out the transcendental theory by the roots.' Mr. More, on the contrary, contends that 'the main intention was to bring relief to Plato's own doctrine of Ideas' by showing the limitations of rationalistic metaphysic. The well-known passage in *Soph.* 248 is held to confirm this view, and to indicate on Plato's part 'an unwavering affirmation of the reality of moral Ideas, united with an unwavering scepticism.'

In brief space it is impossible, of course, to do justice to the views set forth; but enough has been said to indicate that Mr. More holds very definite views regarding the kernel of Plato's Idealism, and that he has the courage of his convictions. One may suspect that he has been influenced by the teaching of his countryman, Professor Shorey, who also is a strong exponent of the continuity of Plato's thought, and a bulwark of what we may, perhaps, call the Tory side in Platonic controversy. The strength of the writer's convictions makes the book all the more readable

and interesting, and besides its *protreptic* value it undoubtedly contains much that is true and important for the student of Ancient Thought—amongst other things this: 'the silly allusions to enigmatic teaching and the statement

that Plato never had written and never would write down his true principles are sufficient to prove the so-called Platonic Epistles a forgery' (p. 199). It is a pity the book has no Index.

R. G. BURY.

GREEK IDEALS.

Greek Ideals: A Study in Social Life.
By C. DELISLE BURNS. One vol.
Octavo. Pp. ix + 275. London:
G. Bell and Sons, and Macmillan Co.,
1917. 5s. net (and \$2.00).

MR. BURNS has taken for his book a subject highly attractive but hardly less elusive. For, as Mr. Lowes Dickinson once put it (in his excellent little book on *The Greek View of Life*), 'there is nothing so misleading as generalisation, specially on the subject of the Greeks. Again and again, when we think we have laid hold of their characteristic view, we are confronted with some new aspect of their life which we cannot fit into harmony with our scheme. There is no formula which will sum up that versatile and many-sided people.' This versatility which renders definition so difficult is fully recognised by Mr. Burns, who says in his Preface that 'the versatility of the Greeks is more emphasised (in his book) than any single idea such as "harmony" or "beauty" to express the Greek ideal'; but the point he most emphasises and regards as most characteristic is that 'in all their ideals what is most prominent appears to be sociability.' By 'Greek' Mr. Burns means mainly Athenian, and his earlier chapters are devoted to an account of Athenian religion and the chief festivals connected with it. He teaches us once again how the *polis* is fundamentally a religious institution 'having very close likeness to a democratic church'—a church without clergy or congregation or sacred book. We used to be taught that Homer was 'the Greek Bible,' but Mr. Burns tells us that that is 'false,' since 'no one was compelled to "believe in" Homer.' He does not tell us, however, what other English book can be compared more adequately with Homer.

After religion and politics, Mr. Burns turns mainly to philosophic literature for his illustrations of the Greek social ideal. He has useful chapters on 'The Fifth Century' and 'The Old School,' as well as on Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; and his last chapter, entitled 'The After-Glow,' is mainly concerned with the views of the Stoics and Epicureans, concluding with what we may call the application of the moral to the men of to-day. As regards Socrates and Plato, it is interesting to compare and contrast the views here set forth with those expressed in Mr. P. E. More's *Platonism*. Whereas Mr. More will have none of the Socrates limned by Professors Burnet and Taylor, or of their emasculated Plato, Mr. Burns enthusiastically accepts both. His *Socrates*, as Form-Theorist and Orphic-Pythagorean-Brother, is 'a much greater Socrates than historians have generally supposed to exist'; while as for Plato, 'although the new view may seem to make him less original as a thinker, it makes him much more skilful as an artist' (p. 147). How, we wonder, would Plato appreciate this compliment! 'All great men' (we quote again from Mr. Burns, p. 243) 'must be astonished at their followers: and *si quis piorum animis locus*, in some other sphere the original author must often stand aghast at what his commentators make him say'—and still more aghast, we may suppose, must stand the original author who wasn't an author. However, Mr. Burns has the highest admiration for his bean-eschewing Socrates, as well as for his Boswellised Plato, and that, after all, is the main point. Unlike Mr. More, he says curiously little of the Socratic *daimonion*; but on the other hand he has much to say about the educational and political views of Plato.

The general reader will find in this volume much to interest as well as to instruct: it is written brightly and with constant reference to the needs and

ideals of the modern *polites*. I have noticed only two misprints (pp. 184, 185); but the Index is over-scanty.

R. G. BURY.

PROLEGOMENA TO AUSONIUS.

Prolegomena to an Edition of the Works of Decimus Magnus Ausonius. By SISTER M. J. BYRNE, Ph.D., Professor of Latin in the College of St. Elizabeth. Octavo. One vol. Pp. viii + 101. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916. 5s. 6d.

PROFESSOR BYRNE'S book was no doubt written as a thesis: it is issued with the *imprimatur* of the Department of Classical Philology of Columbia University. It is a careful and thorough digest of information about Ausonius, his life, his works, and the expository accretions of learning thereupon. Are they *Prolegomena* to an ideal edition, or to an edition actually designed? We are not told. A new text is much needed. Schenkl's reputation has been blown by Mr. Garrod: Peiper is an ugly and awkward work. Would that Fr. Martindale's long-promised contribution to the Oxford Classical Texts showed any signs of appearing! Professor Byrne's references are made to Souchay; but we are not made aware of this until p. 83: it ought to have been done on the front page. Schenkl and Peiper having introduced disorder into the order of the poems, all reference becomes sinfully confused. But probably most scholars would have been grateful for a direct page-reference to Peiper.

There are theses literary or speculative, and theses of which it may be brutally asserted that the perfect form is an *index verborum*; as it stands, this present work suffers a certain disadvantage. It reveals no ambition to rival or to supersede the literary critical estimates of Ausonius which are already to be found in Boissier, La Ville de Mirmont, Pichon, Plessis, etc.; indeed, such estimates, by their nature, do not go out of date. And yet, lacking an index, it is not very convenient for consultation as a repertory of materials. Reviewers

have a vile trick of constructing two stools and placing one on each side of the victim, who is then accused and found guilty of falling between them. But in this case are not the two stools real, and no mere instruments of the carnifex? A finished literary judgment by your Boissier or your Plessis has value; and a book lying wholly within the banausic part of literature, such as Teuffel, the Bradshaw of Latin, whose judgments are of course altogether negligible, has value as a great piece of clerkwork. Is there room for such a book as Sister Byrne's between the two? Yes, on condition that these be really *Prolegomena*. Read strictly in connexion with an edition in one indexed volume together, these chapters would fully justify their utility, which for the nonce remains somewhat fragmentary or provisional.

Ausonius was *par excellence* the poetical Don, a professor in whom the study of expression had quite outrun an impotent imagination and an atrophied heart. He is a far less real and interesting person than Paulinus or Sidonius Apollinaris. The *Mosella* is a readable poem, with feeling enough and historic substance enough to keep it alive. Otherwise the only real thing about the writings of this magnificent prototype of a Head of a House (a hundred years ago) is the breach with Paulinus. This is a bit of Oxford Movement: to draw out the parallel would be an interesting essay. It is an episode of tragical pathos—two friends who no longer speak the same language. Baudrillart's *S. Paulin de Nôle* should be added to the Bibliography.

One may criticise a few details in the chapter on Metre and Prosody. It is to be regretted that the authoress continues to use the discredited equivoque of *arsis* and *thesis*. Havet's substitutes 'temps fort' and 'temps faible' will go

quite nicely into English as the 'forte' and the 'faible' of a foot. On p. 89, examples are given 'of the way in which A. sometimes violates quantity.' These include *Palatia*, which is Statian, at any rate; *rēcidit* and *rēligio*, which are both Augustan; and *utrāque*, nominative singular feminine, an interesting case of accentual stress producing quan-

titative length (codex V. ninth century is actually recorded as having an accent on the vowel). Such a note is too indiscriminate.

However, with a few reservations of detail, and supposing always an edition to follow, the book deserves to be praised and welcomed.

J. S. P.

LIVY, BOOK XXIII.

Livy, Book XXIII. Edited by A. G. PESKETT. Pp. xxiv+159. Cambridge University Press, 1917.

THIS book gives much useful help, especially on the subject-matter. Mr. Peskett has studied the works of Soltau and Kromayer-Veith to good purpose, and he puts the results of their labours before his readers concisely and intelligibly. More frequent references from the Notes to the continuous narrative of the Introduction would be welcome.

On the language the Notes seem to us less satisfactory, mainly for two reasons. First, the editor has tried to provide for the needs of too wide a range of students. He has in view, he tells us, the teacher as well as the school-boy, and he seems to include the boy who has read very little Latin. It would be better, we think, to assume that the student has read books XXI.-XXII. and grown accustomed to the more ordinary difficulties of historical prose. In that case it would not be necessary to say, as Mr. Peskett says more than once, that a historic present may be followed by the historic tenses of the subjunctive, or that in *oratio obliqua* a pluperfect subjunctive may represent the future perfect indicative of the *oratio recta*; and it would be possible to give fuller information on many interesting questions of language and history. For example, on 6, 2 *neque controversiam fore, quin, cum . . . deportet, Italiae imperium Campanis relinquatur* it would be well to note that *relinquatur* is a future tense, especially as beginners are sometimes taught that *futurum sit ut relinquatur* is idiomatic Latin. Mr. Peskett translates 'is left,' Church and Brodribb

more correctly 'the empire of Italy will be left in the hands of the Campanians.' On 16, 16 the note on the subject-matter might well be expanded, for not one reader in a thousand will have access to the books referred to.

Secondly, the Notes on language need some revision. 15, 12, 'The actual words of the speaker were somewhat as follows: *multi qui cum te stipendia fecerunt referunt.*' Obviously *tecum*. 10, 8 '*capta Capua = si Capua caperetur.*' Rather *capta esset*. 8, 5, '*interdum*' 'now and then': this use of *interdum* must be distinguished from the more common meaning "meanwhile." There is no fear of confusion; the word is not used in the sense of 'meanwhile' till much later times, and most readers will not have seen it with that meaning. 11, 3 Mr. Peskett calls the imperatives *mittitote* etc. 'old-fashioned.' Surely we may infer from their frequent use (with a future subordinate clause) in Cicero's speeches and letters that in his time, as in that of Plautus, the second person, singular and plural, were on everyone's lips. One does not easily realise this till one sees all the examples put together, as in Lebreton's *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*, p. 195 f. It is sometimes supposed that there is something formal and solemn in the use of these forms. Yet Cicero uses them in his most familiar style; in writing to Atticus, for instance (1, 12, 4), *Si rem nullam habebis, quod in buccam venerit, scribito*; or to Tiro (Fam. 16, 6, 1), *quantum poscet, promitti iubeto*. The note on 3, 3 *accipite solos, inermis. nec quicquam . . . temere egeritis* says 'notice positive command *accipite* followed by prohibition *ne* [a confusing misprint

for *nec*] *egeritis* perfect subjunctive. In earlier times *neve* would be more common than *nec*. A similar statement may be found in some of the older grammars but is corrected in the more recent books. In the first edition of Kühner's Grammar it is said that when a prohibition is to be connected with a positive command '*neque* is allowed instead of the usual *neve*,' but in the second edition (II. I. p. 193) Stegmann says that *neque* (*nec*) is in such cases the regular connecting link and that in Early Latin *neve* (*neu*) is at any rate very rarely so used. Cf. Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin*, I. p. 168 ff. '*Neve* (*neu*), ordinarily regarded as the normal connecting negative with the prohibitive, is relatively much less frequent.' For a full collection of the evidence from 'the earliest times down to Apuleius, see the article by Dr. E. B. Lease ('der unermüdliche Lease' as Schmalz calls him) on '*Neve* and *neque* with the Imperative and Subjunctive' in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 34 (1913). Mr. Peskett's remark may suggest that Livy is doing something unusual. It would be better to impress on the student that he is writing normal Latin like Cicero, *Att.* 10, 18, 2, *perge, quaeso, scribere nec meas litteras exspectaris*.

It would add to the value of this and similar books if the editors would say

what are the best *English* books on the history, and on constitutional and similar questions. It is perhaps assumed that readers will turn of themselves to such books as Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, the Cambridge '*Companion*' and Dr. Gow's '*Companion*'; but it saves valuable time if they are told where they will find a question well treated. Mr. Peskett often refers to Marquardt and Mommsen's '*Handbuch*.' Such references might well be cut down; they are of value to very few readers, and such readers will easily find their way to the best foreign books.

There are a good many notes of the type 'This use is archaic and poetical and therefore attractive to Livy.' Such remarks would have more interest if they were connected together by an Appendix on the strong and weak points of Livy's style. It is a pity that Mr. Peskett has not brought out more fully Livy's merits both as a historian and as a writer of Latin. He gives him a few words of praise on p. x. but more often he is content to point out his faults. Perhaps some readers will finish their study of the book with the feeling that his history is worthless and that he did not quite understand the art of writing Latin Prose.

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SELECT LATIN INSCRIPTIONS.

Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae. Vol. III., pars 2. Edidit H. DESSAU. Berolini, apud Weidmannos, 1915.

THE first volume of Dessau's *Select Latin Inscriptions* appeared late in 1892, and successive volumes have followed at intervals. The first half of the third volume came out in 1914, just before the war, and contained the beginning of the indices. Now the rest of that volume is before me, and the work is complete after nearly thirty-five years. The reputation of the whole book is so great that Latin scholars in England may perhaps care for a notice of the appearance of this concluding part, of which the preface is dated April, 1916.

As now complete, the publication consists of three volumes in five parts, volumes two and three being each double; the price, at pre-war rates, seems to amount to rather less than £4 10s. The work has many merits, of which I would emphasise two. First, it contains a very large selection of inscriptions, nearly 10,000 (to be accurate, 9,522), which include almost all the notable Roman inscriptions discovered up to date. It is, therefore, a larger selection than that given in the well-known older work of A. Wilmanns, completed in 1873, which contains 2,885 items, and larger even than that of Orelli-Henzen, which was issued in 1828-56, and contains 5,076 items. It

is, indeed, a miniature Corpus in itself. The only recent work which forms in any sense a rival to it is the series which has been annually issued by the leading French epigraphist, Professor Cagnat, under the title *Année Épigraphique*, with admirable regularity during the last thirty years. This, however, is not intended to serve quite the same purpose as Mr. Dessau's volumes, nor does any one index run through it. The reader who would be sure that an item is not to be found in the *Année Épigraphique* must consult a variety of indices before he can feel safe. This brings me to the second merit of Mr. Dessau's work. It is provided with a very full and most excellent index, issued partly in vol. iii., part 1, and partly in vol. iii., part 2. As now complete, this index fills 954 pages, and it is so arranged that it can be extracted from the text of the work, and bound up separately. I remember, long years ago, almost before Mr. Dessau's book was begun, meeting in Budapest a foreign epigraphist, even then of much eminence, who carried with him, as his standby, a separately bound copy of the index to Wilmanns, which fills 432 pages. This went conveniently into any bag, and this he consulted when confronted with any new inscription which was hard to decipher or to interpret. The wandering epigraphist, and, no less, the historical student of the Roman Empire, will, I think, provide himself in future with the 1,000 pp. of Mr. Dessau, and will find it an invaluable 'hand-book.'

Thirdly, so far as I can judge, after having for many years used the previous volumes, this selection has, as a selection, extraordinary merits. It is obviously based, as we might expect, on a very thorough knowledge of the masses of Roman inscriptions with which its editor has been busy all his life. He has, I think, succeeded in giving a completeness to his collection, which renders it not merely indispensable, but also an uncommonly useful book of reference. Even his index excels in this. The pages devoted to 'Consules aliaeque anni determinationes' form almost a hand-book of 'Consular fasti' of the middle and later Republic, and still more of the Empire, right into later

days. Again, in selecting his inscriptions, Mr. Dessau has most wisely included many of those longer texts, which lie in a sense outside the strictly epigraphic borders. Thus, he gives us the speech made by Claudius in A.D. 48 on the grant of Senatorial rank to various Gauls (212) and also the 'fragmentum legis quae dicitur de imperio Vespasiani' (244), and he gives extracts from the records of the Arval College, and a copious supply of the so-called 'diplomata militaria' (1986). Here we find also Hadrian's speech to his troops in Africa (2487), all the chief Municipal laws, 'lex Ursonensis, etc.' (6087 f.), the 'lex Metalli Vipascensis' (6891), even the 'lex Iulia Municipalis' (6085) and other documents which technically are inscriptions, but actually in modern life would be issued in blue-books, or otherwise in print. Not a few scholars (I for one) have planned a small volume of 'imperial documents' which would contain such literary rather than lapidary matter; Mr. Dessau has given us it in his stride. His selection is, indeed, so arranged as to form an admirable basis for a study of most branches of Roman Imperial history, pursued apart from the literary texts with which we usually carry it on. If anybody desires to know what inscriptions record about any important religious cult in the Roman Empire, he will find it set forth in chapter xi., a section of 288 pages in vol. ii., where are treated typical records not only of the 'numina romana' but also of Mithras (pp. 152-164), and of the local gods of most provinces, as of Gaul, Germany, and Britain, and much more on the same lines. Further on, he will meet (p. 276) the Arval Hymn, 'enos lases iuvate.' In short, there is very little that a student could wish to know, about any branch of Roman life and history, which inscriptions deal with, which is not somehow handled in these volumes.

It is needless to add that the handling is throughout excellent. Everyone who has ever had to do with Professor Dessau's work knows that he is a past-master in completeness, minuteness, and accuracy. One might as well look for errors of details in his writings as

in those of Theodor Mommsen. However, I will mention two slips which I owe to the keen observation of a friend: (1) In 5892. 2 for *idemque* read *eidemque*. The interest of the correction is that the word is written *idemque* in 5892. 1; therefore *i* and *ei* were sometimes in-

terchanged, in Cicero's time. (2) In No. 23, the number of miles opposite Muranum seems to be ten too little. But in general Mr. Dessau's accuracy is superb.

F. HAVERFIELD.

SHORT NOTICES

The Annual of the British School at Athens, XXI. Sessions 1914-15-16.

With 15 photos and many illustrations. Macmillan. 21s. net.

It is not surprising that the British School at Athens has less to give us than in the days before the war; the wonder is that there is anything. This volume contains not only the usual scholarly fare but a charming little poem in Modern Greek, recited by a peasant of Euboea, with a graceful translation in English. To some this grain of mustard seed will give more pleasure than the rest of the book, good as it is in its own way. But I will not transcribe it: you must pay your guinea. Another page contains the names of five old students of the school who have given their lives for England: of them there is no need to say, *Requiescant in pace*.

Mr. Dickins opens with a study of some imitators of Praxiteles, and reminds us that there is no evidence for a 'school' of Praxiteles in the proper sense. Mr. Wace identifies the site of Olynthus with Myriophyton, and Mekyberna with Molivopyrgos, and Dr. Leaf discusses some sites in the Troad. Miss Lamb has notes on Seljouk buildings in Konia. Miss Hutton and Mr. Buckler deal with inscriptions, two of which come from Suvla Bay. The indefatigable Mr. Hasluck discusses Stone Cults in the Græco-Turkish area, and the geographical distribution of the Bektashi sect. Dr. Leaf discusses the inscription relating to the Locrian maidens, and concludes that it records the final settlement of the tribute, which

thereafter ceased to be paid, 'the solemn and final ending of the thousand years' curse.' Probably the most important article in the volume is Mr. Tillyard's on Rhythm in Byzantine Music, a subject which he has made peculiarly his own. It is to be hoped that he may be able to continue his study of this, since it is likely to be fruitful for those who are interested in the music of ancient Greece.

W. H. D. R.

Ausgewählte Tragödien des Euripides für den Schulgebrauch erklärt, von N. WECKLEIN. Vol. XII.: *Iphigenie in Aulis*, mit einer Tafel. Pp. xvii + 93. Teubner, 1914. M. 1. 80.

THOUGH this is a school edition, it is not without interest for maturer scholars. Dr. Wecklein discusses at some length the authorship of those parts of the play which seem by their language or their thought not to be the work of Euripides. After excluding lines 1578 ff. as obviously a much later addition, he finds that there are seven such passages (not to speak of shorter interpolations), viz. 1-48, 231-302, 413-441 and 454-468, 619-637, 773-783, 1115-1123, 1532, or perhaps 1510, to 1577. The author of all these passages may well be the same person. He wished to avoid two peculiarities of Euripides which had been ridiculed by the comic poets, the prologue beginning abruptly and the *deus ex machina*. He sought to heighten the effect by introducing the little child, of whom we are told more than once that he cannot yet talk. Lastly he added a

new attraction in the *κατάλογος νεῶν*. Wecklein thinks that we have the play substantially as it was produced in 405 B.C., and that these passages were the work of the younger Euripides. To him he would also ascribe the *Rhesus*. Among the points of similarity between the *Rhesus* and the interpolated parts of the *Iphigenia* he mentions the following: (1) The style of the opening anapaests: *Rhes.* XO. βάθι πρὸς εὐνὰς τὰς Ἑκτορέους . . . θάρσει. EK. θαρσῶ. *Iph.* ΑΓΑ. ὦ πρέσβυ, δόμων τῶνδε πάροιθεν στείχε. ΠΡ. στείχω. (2) The lines about the Pleiads (*Rhes.* 529, *Iph.* 7) and the break of day (*Rhes.* 546, *Iph.* 9). (3) The repetition of the word *πωλικός*. It occurs four times in the *Rhesus*, three in *Iph.* 619-623. (Wecklein says four times in 613-623, but the occurrence in 613 is not to the point, as he does not regard 613-618 as the work of the younger Euripides). (4) The use of epic forms *Iph.* 782 ἐσεῖται, *Rhes.* 525 δέχθαι. Dr. Wecklein has an extensive knowledge of the work produced in countries other than his own; he knows the best English editions of the *Iphigenia*, and in his note on lines 231-302 he refers to Mr. T. W. Allen's article in this *Review* (XV., 1901, p. 346 ff.). It will be noticed that he comes to a different conclusion on the *Rhesus* problem from that reached by several scholars in this country in the last few years. (See the article by Mr. G. C. Richards in *C.Q.* X., 1916, p. 192 ff.) Dr. Wecklein's Preface is dated 1913, the year in which Professor Murray's *Rhesus* and Mr. W. H. Porter's article in *Hermathena* were published.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

St. Paul's School.

Lucian's Atticism: the Morphology of the Verb. By R. J. DEFERRARI. One vol. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. ix + 85. Princeton: University Press; London: H. Milford, 1916.

'THIS dissertation presents the first results of an extended study of Lucian's language, both in relation to his fellow Atticists and the κοινή. . . . I have confined myself to the morphology of the verb, as containing perhaps the

greatest number of MS. problems, and as showing certain general and typical tendencies and motives of the author.' Certain pieces have been omitted, but for the mass of writings included in the Lucianic corpus 'it is hoped that the material has been completely collected and presented in sufficient detail.' The author's general plan is to state briefly, with references to such works as those of Kühner, Meisterhans, Mayser, Blass, what forms are found in Attic literature or inscriptions, in the papyri, and in the New Testament; then to summarise the usage of the other Atticists; and finally to give statistics of Lucian's usage and, in most cases, complete references to the passages in which the form occurs. Thus we have in a compact form the result of much laborious research. 'Probably no significant variant has been missed, even if the evidence for and against it is not full.'

The book will undoubtedly be helpful (as the author hopes) to future editors of Lucian. It will also serve as a supplement to the larger reference books on grammar.

The last chapter, in which Mr. DeFerrari sums up the conclusions at which he has arrived, is of more general interest, as a few quotations will show:

'This investigation of Lucian's verb morphology as compared to that of other exponents of the same literary movement has greatly increased our respect for Lucian as the most strict, yet the least stiff, of the Hellenistic Atticists. Lucian has many variations from good Attic, some extensive and some isolated; but practically all are the result of a definite purpose, not of ignorance. . . . They are due in the main to three factors: a sense of dramatic fitness, a desire to avoid obscurity, and a desire to avoid pronounced pedantry. This deliberate abandonment of true Attic is further evidence of Lucian's great command of the Attic dialect, and is responsible for the naturalness of his style.'

'We believe that on the whole the tradition faithfully represents Lucian's usage—modified, however, by the insertion of a small number of Atticisms and a much greater number of vul-

garisms. Lucian was more Attic, not less Attic, than as we now know him.'

It is a pity that such a solid piece of work is marred by occasional misprints: e.g., p. 49, 'Although correct in eleven cases of the aorist of σημαίνω, yet in 73-36 L. has ἐσήμνα.' Here ἐσήμνα is meant, as is shown on p. 50. The Attic form of the imperfect of ἐργάζομαι (sic) is stated on p. 12 to be εἰργαζόμεν, on p. 13 ἡργαζόμεν.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

The First Year of Greek. By J. T. ALLEN, Associate Professor of Greek, University of California. Pp. 375. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.30.

THIS is a book of a new kind and we commend it to the notice of all whom it may concern. Its author's aim is to provide for the needs of 'students of college age' who, as he says, 'do not desire, and should not be expected, to begin the study of a language in precisely the same manner as children of fourteen or fifteen.' As many of them will not be able to give more than a year or two to Greek, 'the course must be more compressed; the content of the first year richer. Just so far as is possible in so brief a period the student must be given the opportunity of reading in their original form choice portions of Greek literature. . . . The selections have been chosen for their intrinsic merit and graded with greatest care, and deserve to be read and re-read many times. In fact, there are only a few that are not worthy to be memorised, which indeed was one of the chief considerations in determining their choice. For in learning a language like Greek there is hardly any exercise more helpful than memorising suitable passages both in prose and verse.'

The author has chosen with good judgment and from a wide range of authors. The pieces are interesting and varied and are not too hard for their place in the book if the learner goes slowly, revises often, and learns many passages by heart. In the earlier lessons we have, among other

attractive material, a few verses from the gospels, a line or two from some poet, Euclid's axioms. Single lines of Menander, many of which are easy (e.g. 'Ἡ γλῶσσα πολλῶν ἐστὶν αἰτία κακῶν'), are often introduced. After a time we have short pieces from Plato, then longer selections from the *Lysis* and *Protagoras*, short extracts (3 or 4 lines) from the tragedians, the Anthology, etc.

There are comparatively few exercises for translation into Greek. Those given are well planned to give practice in the words and types of sentence which occur in the reading. It is suggested that they should be expanded, and this will probably be found necessary in order to make the student thoroughly familiar with the common words and inflexions.

The editor is a scholar. He does not expect his pupils to be able to enjoy Greek literature without learning to distinguish fine shades of meaning. He does not rewrite the selections (except those from Herodotus) to make them easier, but he chooses carefully passages which contain only common words and standard constructions. The grammar (123 pages) is clear and thorough; the syntax is perhaps rather too much compressed; here and there the general statement is scarcely clear without an example.

The paper, print, and binding are admirable.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

Bernini and other Studies in the History of Art. By RICHARD NORTON, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. With 69 plates. New York: Macmillan Company.

THIS volume is an admirable example of the aesthetic criticism of art. It touches the classical student in three chapters: the Art of Portraiture, Pheidias and Michel Angelo, and a Head of Athena found at Cyrene. Mr. Norton analyses the principles of portrait statues in Egypt, Greece, and Rome, and compares the portrait in statuary and in painting. The painting depends for its impression chiefly on the eyes, the carving chiefly depends on the mouth, since the peculiar power of

the two branches of art lies in colour and in form respectively. Egypt, Greece, and Rome are all realistic in portraiture, but they all try to represent character rather than physical peculiarities merely—until the time of decadence comes, and character gives place to sensation. But the character which the Greek sought was that of the whole man as he was, his inner self embodied in the form and moulding it; the Roman sought to depict a man as he appeared to his contemporaries: in the Greek, thought predominates, in the Roman, action. The second essay compares the genius of the two sculptors, which in itself seems to be not unlike, under the different influences of their religion and their moral ideas. In both the author sees the conception of a work of art as a whole, its parts and its decorations belonging naturally to the whole, and if separated from it losing their value. The Cyrenean head was discovered by Mr. Norton himself in the American excavations. He discusses its style in detail, and comes to the conclusion that it is by a local artist of the fourth century, and that it shows local influence.

The volume has a peculiarity which is welcome to the amateur, if that word be used in its true sense: it is free from art jargon, and expresses its thoughts with perfect clearness for any intelligent reader. The author's competence is obvious: no less his good sense and thoughtful penetration.

W. H. D. R.

The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian. Their Careers, with some Notes on Hadrian's Reforms. By R. H. LACEY. Princeton, 1917.

THIS is a dissertation presented for the doctorate in Princeton University, and it is of more than average merit. In effect, the writer re-edits those items in the 'Prosopographia' which bear upon his subject, with necessary additions and corrections and full comments, accompanied by abundant references to the opinions of scholars on disputed points. The author is not merely a compiler; there is good criticism of divergent views. Inaccuracies are few. Among them is a statement on p. 60 that

'Hadrian received the tribunician power the second time . . . the third time.' Naturally the balance of probability will sometimes seem to the reader to incline in a different direction from that assumed by the author. It is hard to believe, for instance, that the title *legatus iuridicus* was ever applied to the independent governor of a province (p. 49). Such an officer must have been normally subordinate to a governor, though he may have been acting governor in an emergency, as the quaestor was on occasion in the Republican age. Mommsen seems to have been right in holding that *promagister* could not apply to an imperial officer of finance (p. 43). There is no real difficulty in supposing that a man who at one time was an official of a *societas publicanorum* became later on an imperial *procurator*. Misprints in the thesis are rare. On p. 5 *moderationem* in a quotation should be *moderatore* and on p. 49 *region* is an error for *reign*. A full index adds to the value of dissertation.

J. S. R.

Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Mediaeval Period. By C. R. MOREY. One vol. Small 4to, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 70. Seven full-page plates, seventeen figures in text. Princeton University Press, Princeton; London: Humphrey Milford, 1915.

THE subject of this book causes it to fall outside the proper scope of the *Classical Review*; but it is of no small importance to students of mediaeval Rome, and furnishes a good illustration of the value of the study of drawings of Roman monuments. The author shows that amongst the drawings collected by Cassiano dal Pozzo, now preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor, there is a group which may be attributed to one Antonio Eclissi, a protégé of the Barberini, representing several of the mosaics which suffered restoration at the hands of Urban VIII. The study of these drawings enables us not only to recover details which the restorers obliterated or altered, but also to determine the true text of fragmentary inscriptions. It will be of interest to epigraphists that even so competent a

scholar as Wilpert was wide of the mark in his restorations of such inscriptions as those on the mosaics of S. Pudenziana. H. S. JONES.

Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language. By E. H. STURTEVANT. 7½" x 5¼". Pp. x + 184. University of Chicago Press. \$1.00 net.

LINGUISTIC study has considerably advanced since the days when Voltaire could scoff at it as a science in which the consonants count for little and the vowels for nothing; and Mr. Sturtevant is nothing if not modern—we really feel at times as though we had been admitted into the laboratory of the professor of phonetics in Shaw's *Pygmalion*! For much stress is given to influences, such as those which we know colloquially as 'Spoonerisms,' and the sort of phenomena collected by Meringer in his *Aus dem Leben der Sprache*, which play a very important part in linguistic development—a part inclined to be neglected by philologists of the older school. Sometimes, perhaps, Mr. Sturtevant's scientific enthusiasm leads him to adduce somewhat trivial instances from the American language; but we must forgive him the vices of his ultra-modernism for the sake of its benefits, and perhaps he would remind us of Socrates' rebuke of the young Theaetetus to the effect that nothing—not even hair and mud—is *φαιδρος* to the philosophic mind. What is of more importance is a certain lack of critical spirit which accepts as well-established facts conjectures such as the derivation of *breviter* from *breve iter*; had Mr. Sturtevant only remembered that caution of Swift's about deriving *apothecary* from *the pot he carries*, philologists would have found fewer causes of quarrel with the present volume. But in spite of these, somewhat serious, defects it is a stimulating little book, which treats in a very simple way the important effects of the living voice upon the history of a language, together with such things as change of form and of meaning in isolated words and in general syntax.

R. B. APPLETON.

Patriotic Poetry. Greek and English, by W. RHYS ROBERTS. Pp. viii + 135, with four illustrations. London: Murray, 1916. 3s. 6d. net.

WHAT the preface calls the 'more martial' portions of this volume were delivered as an address on St. Crispin's day 1915 to the Literary and Historical Society of Leeds University. To this Prof. Roberts has added some sixty pages of notes and references which provide an excellent collation of Greek and English patriotic poetry from Shakespear and Homer down to William Watson and Constantine Rhigas, who was shot by the Turks at Belgrade in 1798. (Part of his splendid appeal to the Greeks is quoted in the notes and is one of the finest poems among them.) The book is not intended mainly for classical scholars, but for boys, and the English reader who has little or no Greek; which explains the general simplicity, and an occasional crudity, of comment; but even the classical scholar will find it stimulating to find how often Prof. Roberts can give a modern application to old familiar words. Perhaps these stand out at times in too vivid contrast with the author's somewhat ephemeral commentary, but who can expect what is frankly a book of the day to be written in immortal words? One would certainly have welcomed upon so fascinating a theme a rather more fully-digested work than this somewhat hasty compilation, but even as it stands it is a remarkable illustration of the fact that the words and thoughts of the ancient Greeks are as true and as valuable to-day as they were over two thousand years ago.

R. B. A.

Storia della letteratura romana. By A. G. AMATUCCI. Napoli (1912, 1916). 4 lire.

THE first part of this work appeared some years ago; the second, which deals with the period from Augustus to the fifth century A.D., although composed shortly afterwards, was first published in 1916. The author writes for Italian schools and Universities, and expresses a hope that his book may be kept for reference by students after they have completed their courses. In his

Preface he claims some originality for his work, and states that it is written from an Italian point of view. The originality is not obvious, and the literary judgments, though sane, are not striking. The strength of the author appears to lie in his power of compression, the skilful use which he has made of his materials, and his great industry. He has drawn chiefly from Teuffel and the 'monumental' work of Schanz, and made great use of the reviews and notices to be found in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*. He gives a selection from the monographs which have appeared in recent years upon the various authors, and claims to have studied them himself. The text is accompanied by notes arranged in three classes: (a) To elucidate and amplify the text; (b) dealing with the *fontes*; (c) giving the chief MSS., critical editions, transactions, etc. The notes are not given at the foot of the page, but succeed the text, and it is often necessary to look back several pages in order to find the re-

ference. This method has some inconveniences. Thus 1. 239 we find

(28) A. È un delle migliori opere di Cicerone, la migliore tra le filosofiche.

The name of the treatise is not given, and it is necessary to look back to p. 229 to find that (28) = *De Finibus*.

There are some natural omissions in the lists of authorities. Thus the Harleian MS. 2682, though mentioned for other speeches of Cicero, is not given as an authority for the text of the *Miloniana*. The subject of rhythm in Latin prose-writers, which has been so much discussed in recent years, receives only scanty reference. It will be gathered that Professor Amatucci's work is likely to be of use to students outside of his own country. No other book of its size contains so much information, and its cheapness is quite extraordinary.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

NOTES AND NEWS

ALTHOUGH it bears only indirectly upon our work, we wish to call attention to the Classical French Theatre Association, which has just issued an attractive programme of drama, music, and lectures. These help our under-

standing of one of the chief heirs of Latin culture in Europe. Further particulars may be had from the Comte de Croze, 89, Fitzjohn's Avenue, London, N.W. 3.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of the CLASSICAL REVIEW.

DR. LEAF'S second letter in your August-September number makes it unnecessary for me to repeat what I said in a reply to it which waited too long for information from Athens, and so was too late for that issue. I will only observe that it was he, not I, who was 'misinformed.' I had known for some time that nearly a dozen sites had been discovered, not one only, and that there was reason to believe that a settlement 'at Corinth' was Mycenaean, like the rest. Dr. Leaf hopes it was not. We shall soon know for certain.

Meantime, however important his particular point may be for his prophecy, it does not seem to matter to those who oppose his latest view of the *Catalogue*. For already thus much is clear, that there was in Mycenaean times effective occupation of the region of Corinth, and that there were—I quote the *Classical Journal*—

'extensive trade relations with Crete and the Aegean Islands, and with settlements in Argolis and in Central Greece.' The soil and climate, which Dr. Leaf has misdescribed in his book in terms so disparaging that one must marvel that a great city was ever founded and flourished there, did not deter the Mycenaeans. They, like their predecessors and successors, appreciated the importance of the locality for trade. We always knew that there was a 'natural harbour at Cenchreae,' but we now know it was a Mycenaean port. About Lechaem also I believe Dr. Leaf is wrong. There is in the tradition a claim by the Corinthians that it was the first artificial port ever created. It may well have been created in Mycenaean times; its creation would surely have been a trifle to the builders of Mycenae. But, be that as it may, the fact is, in spite of what Dr. Leaf has written to the contrary, that the shore in the vicinity is well adapted to shipping of the

Mycenaean kind. Trade thence across the Gulf to Central Greece appears to have been active, and, personally, I do not doubt there would be some trade along the Isthmus, however *διόδος* the route may have been. The whole region was evidently dominated by the lords of Mycenae. They could either permit traffic to cross from Cenchræa to Lechaëum, or constrain it to Nauplia and the route past their great *ῥηλόνιον* in the mountains to Corinth and the Gulf. Perhaps in this restraint of trade they only imitated their great predecessor, Sisyphus. There is a hint in the tradition about that *κέρδιοςτος ἀνδρῶν*, who is said to have 'promoted navigation and commerce.' He made the Isthmus impassable by rolling stones down on travellers, and that procedure may reflect some embargo on the land traffic designed to favour the direct route between the then Lechaëum and Northern Greece.

The 'foundation of my arguments' has not been 'knocked away'—yet. So far as one can judge at present, it seems they have been strengthened, and that Unitarians, pitied by some reviewers of *Homer and History*, have good ground for awaiting without trepidation a full statement of the results of these excavations, and the light it is anticipated they will throw on the prehistory of the Peloponnesus. Whatever the issue of Dr. Leaf's prediction, there seems to be good reason for believing

that 'Homer' and the *Catalogue* are sound in regard to *ἀπνεὺς κόρυθος*. His excision of the passage in 'Homer' in which it is mentioned is arbitrary and negligible.—Yours, etc.,

A. SHEWAN.

St. Andrews.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

Professor Housman says (*Class. Rev.* XVII. 390) that only one certain emendation has ever been made in the text of Persius. May I through the medium of your columns present him with another? The Epigram that does duty for *Prologue* is, as they print it, halt and maimed, without a leg to stand on; in fine, no epigram at all. And who's to blame? Not Persius, but the monk (God rest his soul!) who expurgated the poem for the fastidious reader—the St. Jerome?—of his day. Give the poor thing its due: write in the last line 'cacare for 'cāfare' (*i.e.* *cantare*), and it may become less prim and proper, but at least it will stand on its own legs again. And anyone who has chanced to pass through a rookery in spring will admit the force and aptness of the expression as a set-off against its coarseness and bear the precocious author no lasting ill-will.

I am, sir, etc.,

'IUS SUUM CUIQUE.'

September 11, 1918.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Barker (E.)** Greek Political Theory: Plato and his Predecessors. New edition. 9" x 6". Pp. xiv + 404. London: Methuen and Co., 1918. Cloth, 14s. net.
- Begbie (H.)** Living Water: Chapters from the Romance of the Poor Student. 7½" x 5". Pp. 210. London: Headley Bros., 1918. Paper boards, 2s. 6d. net.
- Benton (P. A.)** A Book of Anniversaries. 7" x 4½". Pp. 170. Oxford: University Press, 1918. 3s. net.
- Byrne (L.)** The Syntax of High School Latin. Revised edition. 9" x 6". Pp. xii + 60. Chicago: University Press, 1918. Cloth, 75 cents net.
- Fowler (W. W.)** Virgil's Gathering of the Clans. Second edition, revised. Pp. vi + 98. Aeneas at the Site of Rome. Second edition, revised. Pp. x + 130. 8" x 5". Oxford: Blackwell, 1918. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net each.
- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.** Vol. XXIX. 8" x 5½". Pp. viii + 178. Harvard Press and Oxford University Press, 1918. Paper boards, 6s. 6d. net.
- Leopold (H. M. R.)** De Ontwikkeling van het Heidendom in Rome. 10" x 6½". Pp. xvi + 162. Rotterdam: W. L. and J. Brussee.
- Nachmansson (E.)** Erotiani vocum Hippocraticarum Collectio, cum Fragmentis. 9" x 5½". Pp. xxxii + 156. Göteborg: Eranos' Förlag; London: Williams and Norgate, 1918. Kr. 10.
- Roehl (H.)** Epistula Novi Mariti. Prize Poem and others, highly commended. Also Report on the foregoing. 10" x 6½". Amsterdam: J. Muller, 1918.
- Stampini (E.)** Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, Anno 46, Fasc. 3. 9½" x 6½". Pp. 305-384. Turin: G. Chiantore, 1918.
- Thomas (M. A.)** Notice sur le Manuscrit Latin 4788 du Vatican, contenant une traduction de la Consolatio Philosophiae de Boèce. 11½" x 9". Pp. 66. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1917. Fr. 3.
- Translations of Christian Literature.** Series I.: St. Dionysius of Alexandria: Letters and Treatises (C. L. Feltoe). Pp. 110. 3s. 6d. net. The Lausiac History of Palladius (W. K. L. Clarke). Pp. 188. 5s. net. 7½" x 5". London: S.P.C.K., 1918. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Verrua (P.)** L'Eloquenza di Lucio Marineo Siculo. 12½" x 8½". Pp. 28. Pisa: F. Mariotti, 1918.
- White (N. J. D.)** Libri Sancti Patricii. Texts for Students, No. 4. 7" x 5". Pp. 32. London: S.P.C.K., 1918. 6d. net.
- Whittaker (T.)** The Neo-Platonists. Second edition, with a supplement on the Commentaries of Proclus. 9" x 6". Pp. xvi + 320. Cambridge: University Press, 1918. Cloth, 12s. net.

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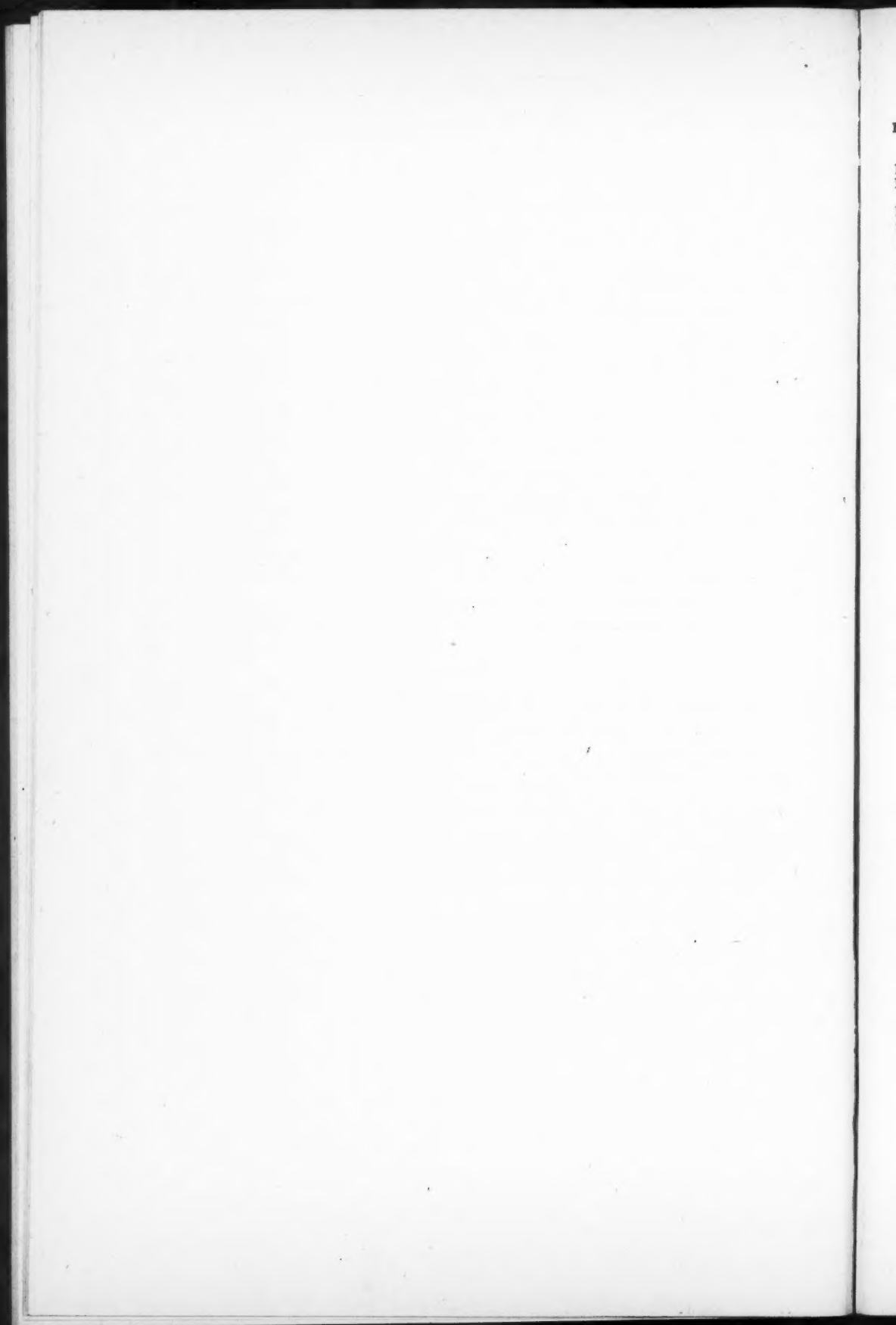
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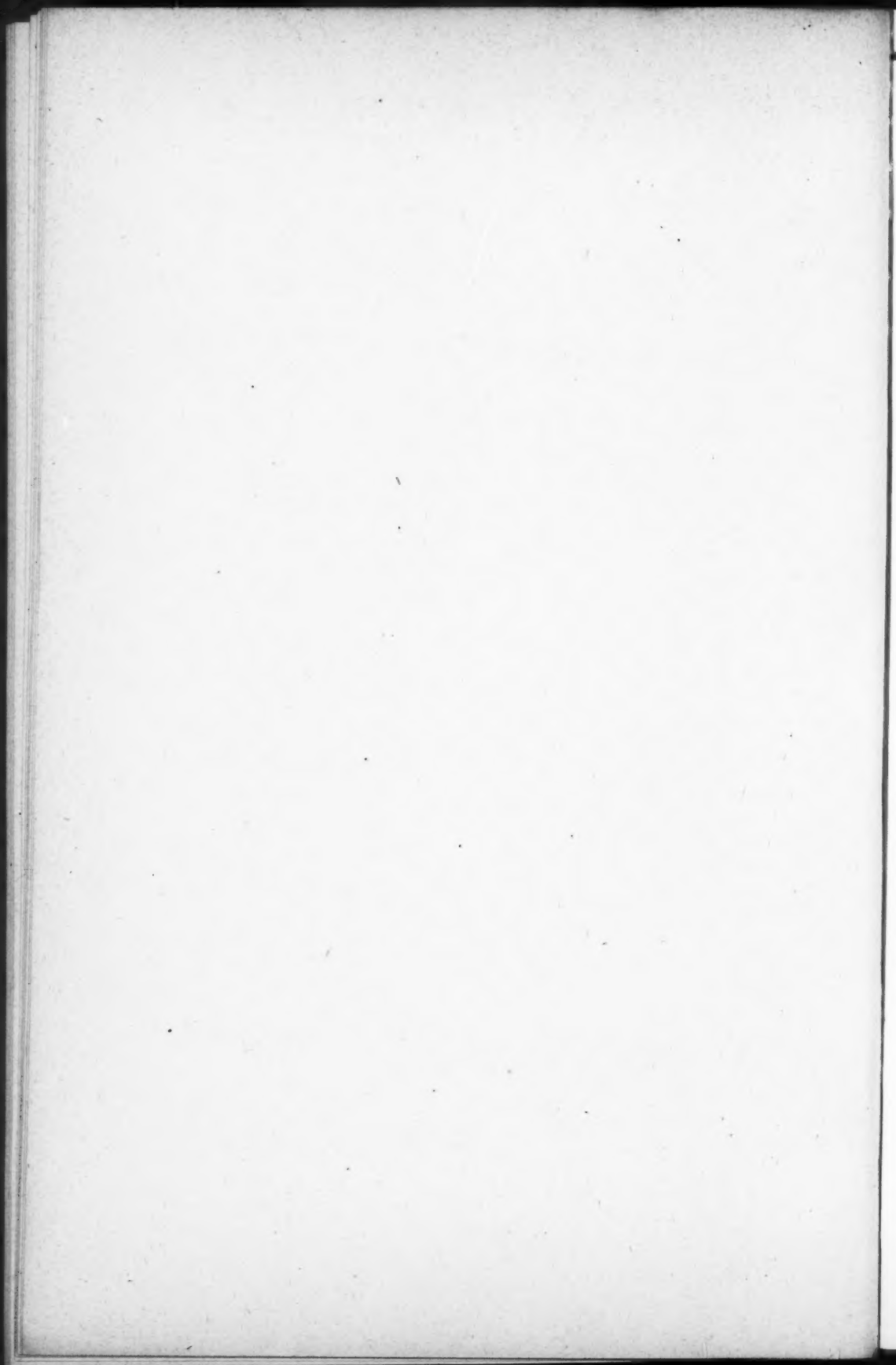
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